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WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON ON IMPEACHMENT.

MR. GARRISON, after nearly a year of intense suffering, occasioned by a severe accident, has so far recovered as to be able to resume his pen. He contributes to the *Independent* of last week an important and very opportune article on the impeachment of the President. He writes:

Through the weary months of keen physical suffering that have elapsed since I last addressed you, I have been disabled from using my pen, and compelled to silence as a public lecturer and speaker; nevertheless, be assured, I have not been an indifferent spectator of the many extraordinary events, some of them also refreshingly cheering, that have occurred during that time. Endeavoring to extract all possible solace from blind John Milton's comforting thought—

"He also serves who only stands and waits"—

I have longed once more to be actively in the struggle to secure to the colored population of our country the same rights and immunities which are accorded to all others, and to extirpate whatever remains of the old oligarchic, slaveholding spirit of the South.

"God made us free! Between us and our maker
No cloud should gather and no shade should fall;
For he has called us each to be partaker
Of the free table richly spread for all.

"Let none put out the light that God has granted;
Let none deny fit nurture for the soul,
Let none withhold the draught for which we've panted—
For he who willed the thirst prepared the bowl."

My last lecture was delivered in the Academy of Music at Brooklyn, in February, immediately after the delivery of President Johnson's infamous speech to the mob of rebels and Copperheads assembled before the White House to give him their approving yells, on the 22d of that month. I then declared, with all sincerity and thoughtfulness, that, if I were a member of the U. S. House of Representatives, I would instantly propose the impeachment of Andrew Johnson for sundry "high crimes and misdemeanors," as a patriotic duty. Since then, of what further acts of official usurpation and indecency has he not been guilty? Was there ever so disgraceful and alarming an exhibition of spirit and design as was made by him as he "swung round the circle," last Summer, from Washington to Chicago? It has no parallel in our political history—none on the other side of the Atlantic. I need not recapitulate what was said and done by him on that [illegible] tour. All know it by heart. What has he not essayed in order to leave the millions of emancipated bondmen at the South without legal protection for any of their rights—as sheep given over to the custody of wolves; to render all the laws of Congress passed for their defence a nullity; to bring Congress itself into popular contempt, and make it the target of his poisoned arrows, even denying it to this hour a lawful existence, so far as all legislation affecting the South is concerned; to rekindle the expiring flames of the rebellion, raise the treasonable hopes and stimulate the murderous passions of the entire body of Southern traitors, and strengthen the hands of their Northern abettors; to make it, according to reliable testimony, "just as easy to get a jury in the State of New York to convict a person of manslaughter for shooting a mad dog as to get a jury of rebels to find a rebel guilty upon a charge of killing a negro," or even a white Unionist; to render it impracticable, on the basis of universal freedom, "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, and promote the general welfare?" Yet no patriot has yet ventured to stand up in the House of Representatives and demand his impeachment and removal from office! That should have been the first motion made after the organization of the House at the present session. The honor, the safety of the country, and the integrity of the Constitution imperatively demand it. Yet, *mirabile dictu!* on this point there seems to be much doubt and hesitancy in the loyal ranks. Even the New York *Tribune*, which has accused Andrew Johnson of committing "high crimes and misdemeanors," even to the verge of treason, timidly shrinks from the issue, and opposes the proposition for impeachment as unadvisable, if not preposterous. Let the President, it is pleaded, do something more in the same direction, and worse, if he dare, before he is arraigned at the tribunal of the Senate. What more can he do; what worse is it necessary for him to do? Is he not as defiant and implacable as ever? Will he not continue to veto every edict of Congress stringently bearing upon the yet treasonable South? And if Congress is numerically more than a match for his veto, what act of theirs can be enforced against the hostility of the President and the combined powers of rebeldom? While he remains in office, neither Union men nor negroes will possess any rights on Southern soil that the rebels will be bound to respect. He is publicly committed to do all in his power—and he can do much—to prevent freedom and loyalty from exercising mastery in any of the late rebellious States. With the immense patronage intrusted to his hands, he will use it unsparingly to accomplish his nefarious ends. He is manifestly as obstinate as he is unprincipled, and as self-conceited as he has proved himself perfidious. It is idle to say that the result of the recent elections will be to sober his judgment and restrain his power. That result, indeed, carries with it a solemn admonition; but where heart and conscience are wanting, and the understanding is passionately disordered, what ground is there for hope? The only fact that the President will choose to discern is, that the next Congress will embody no more loyal strength, numerically, than the present one; and if the present is branded by him as only "a so-called Congress, hanging on the verge of the government," will he not regard the new Congress in the same light, and treat it with the same contumely? Surrounded by bad advisers, corruptly vulnerable to any extent through his passions and vices, and combining in his nature all that is tyrannical in Southern domination, and all that is low and debasing among the "poor white trash" of the South, his future course may be as accurately predicted as the return of a lunar eclipse. What peace or unity can be effected for the Republic, what rights secured for loyal men at the South, with Andrew Johnson still in office? Until his removal, his orders, as Commander-in-chief of the army and navy, will bind Grant and Farragut either to abject compliance or prompt resignation, according to their temper. They are legally under his dictation, and in any forcible rupture between him and Congress, they can know only the President, unless they throw up their commissions. He has a co-operative cabinet, if it be not a unit. With the purse and the sword in his hands—with his constitutional advisers in perfect agreement with his policy—what may he not yet attempt in his wrath or madness? He will certainly "know no North"—only the South. All his plans, his appointments, his commands, will have but one object—the restoration of Southern rule in the councils of the nation or the overthrow of the Union.

I repeat—the first thing Congress should have done, at its present session, was to impeach the President, and to put him forthwith upon his trial. On reassembling after the holidays, it should endeavor to make up for lost time in this particular. If it shrink from the discharge of this high duty, the President will feel that he is "master of the situation," and the rebellious spirit of the South will grow more and more defiant. *Will* grow? Nay, is it not now as swaggering, as contumacious, as treasonably disposed, as it was the hour before Fort Sumter was fired upon? Read the Southern journals! What can be more atrocious in avowal and design than their daily diatribes against Congress and the loyal people of the North? Their voice is "still for war," provided the President will try his hand at a *coup d'état*. They boldly declare that, though the South has been vanquished in the battle-field, she is even more disaffected than ever, and will avail herself of every instrumentality to "rule or ruin." Nothing is left undone by them to "fire the Southern heart" to the utter violation of all those obligations and duties the patriotic performance of which alone can make us "one and inseparable" as a nation. What broader ground for his impeachment need be desired than that the President is in close affiliation with rebels of the deepest dye, wielding power in their behalf which was never committed to his trust, and determined to checkmate Congress in every effort to reconstruct the South on the basis of absolute loyalty?

Let this perjured and perfidious occupant of the presidential chair be summarily removed, and one chosen to fill it who will be true to his country, working harmoniously with Congress in its endeavors to give the same security to liberty and loyalty at the South as is enjoyed at the North; and the safety of the nation will be placed upon an indestructible foundation. Not to do this, will be the sowing of dragons' teeth, ending in a harvest of blood.

The right of impeachment is not only a constitutional right, but the Constitution itself assumes that it may be an imperative duty. If Andrew Johnson has not made himself liable to it, then the phrase "high crimes and misdemeanors" becomes a mockery, and he may act the part of factionist and usurper to any extent with impunity. But the President of the United States is as amenable to trial and conviction for betraying his trust as the humblest official in the land, and should be as readily brought to the tribunal of justice.

THE RIGHT OF COLORED AMERICAN CITIZENS TO VOTE.

DISCOURSE BY DR. CHEEVER, IN THE CHURCH OF THE PURITANS.

THE Rev. Dr. Cheever delivered a discourse Sunday evening, January 6th, on the subject—"The Inalienable Right of Colored American Citizens to vote, under the Constitution, in all the States," taking for his text the 25th chapter of Matthew, 45th verse: "Then shall he answer them, saying, verily, I say unto you, inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me." He said, there ought to be no distinction of human rights or privilege by color of the skin. Chief-Justice Story declared that the Constitution contemplated a perfect equality of rights and privileges before the law among all the citizens of the United States. Let us see how the Constitutional Amendment and a new law for universal suffrage are going to work together; that is, how injustice and justice are to be quiet yoke-fellows. The Governor of Maine is the only one that has had the manliness to dissent in any shape and to tell the Legislatures that "the Constitutional Amendment hazards one of the very fruits of our victory over the rebellion by placing it in the power of the South to introduce into the Constitution a disability founded on race [illegible]. But it smooths the way, he adds, for the returning South, and is at least a step in the right direction, and afterwards we may proclaim universal suffrage. A step in the right, an act in the wrong. If that is the method of our progress, how long would it be before we should destroy our own liberties? Nevertheless, the Governor of Maine has honored himself and the State in telling the truth to the Legislatures and they—if worthy of the motto *Dirigo*—would respond by refusing to sanction such a disability of color in the Constitution. Congress, in the meantime, proposes to amend their own work by bills preventing any State from being admitted to the Union unless it gives the vote equally to black and white. This is admirable if they would take away the stumbling-block. But for want of justice at the outset legislation goes on with lame and self-stultifying steps. There is no true and safe return but justice for the State at the outset. The Constitutional Amendment was a bill enabling the rebel States, in the hands of a rebel minority, to exclude the loyal majority from all voice and authority in the government by excluding them and their posterity from the vote on account of color and race; and it was intended thus "to smooth the way" for the return of the rebel States into the Union by giving them the rights of the colored race as a bridge to walk over into the Union. They might be induced to submit by the pleasing consideration that in so doing they were trampling anew upon the black as an inferior race, a race of serfs, as they always had done, and had now got this right of so trampling set for them in the Constitution as it had never been before. As soon as they begin to understand this operation of the Amendment we are informed that they will accept of it. They thought at first that the declaration in the first section of the Amendment declaring all persons citizens was a declaration in good faith, making black persons citizens as well as white. They thought that the vote would follow of course as a right of American citizens. They believed this especially because they knew the colored race to have been loyal while they themselves were rebels. But as soon as they are made to understand their mistake they cease to oppose the Amendment. They are ready to come in with the blacks under their feet, since some members of Congress have been at the pains to explain to them that the first section of the Amendment is neutralized by the second, and that the second gives the whites the supreme power over the blacks, the power to reduce the blacks to a state of serfdom and to keep them forever in that state. As soon as they learn that their objections to the Amendment are obviated, they consent, especially as the sections obnoxious to themselves, and in some cases suspending their right of voting, are made repealable at the will of Congress, while the section giving them the right of disfranchising the blacks is not repealable. They really thought that the Amendment was intended to give suffrage to the negroes and to take it from the whites; but when informed that nothing of that kind is meant, but that the vote is to belong only to the whites—that is, only to the rebels—and that this Constitutional Amendment in effect establishes a white man's government, they withdraw their objections, and they are ready to come in. Meantime, the Amendment being passed—that is, the constitutional right of the whites to degrade the loyal blacks into serfdom being admitted—it is proposed to pass a law of reconstruction by which no State shall be admitted to the Union without a provision in its Constitution giving to the blacks, as well as whites, the right to vote, irrespective of race and color. Let us examine the result. Suppose the rebel Legislatures frame just such a provision, and by means of it the rebel States come in, under what Constitution do they come in? Under a Constitution amended so as to give the rebel Legislatures the right to exclude persons from the vote for other reasons than rebellion or crime—that is, for color and race; and if they do this the persons so excluded are to be shut out from the basis of representation. But, in addition to this, the rebel States will have the right, at any time, to alter their own Constitutions, and the government cannot interfere, even if they resume their old laws, excluding the colored race from the right to vote; for the nation has made the right to exclude the blacks from the basis of representation a part of the valid State Constitutions. The rebels are thus given the right to trample on the blacks by the Federal Constitution. Having come into the Union by agreeing, in their State Constitutions, to give the blacks the right to vote, they can then, agreeably to the second section of the Amendment, alter their Constitutions and forbid the blacks from voting, and this proceeding will be adjudged by the United States Supreme Court to be constitutional; for by the Constitutional Amendment the nation promises to exclude from the basis of representation those whom the rebel States exclude for other causes than rebellion and crime.

WHAT THE REBEL STATES ARE DOING WITH THE BLACKS.

The rebel States are themselves preparing for the juncture. Justice to the colored race is denied and is being rendered impossible. They are sold into slavery in Maryland; they are whipped into slavery in North Carolina; they are permitted to be enslaved by the Constitutional Amendment. It cannot be denied that the taking away of the right to vote is their practical enslavement; and having permitted it to be taken away by the Constitution, how can Congress restore it by law? We learn that there is a law in North Carolina providing that if persons are publicly whipped they shall be deprived of the right to vote. Acting upon this law, the whites in that State are providing against the possibility of the blacks ever voting, by whipping them. This practice has been carried on on such a scale at Raleigh that crowds gathered every day at the Court House to see the interesting spectacle of negroes being whipped. The same practice, it is affirmed, has been introduced into many of the country towns of the State. This is obviously the mode adopted to evade the proposed Amendment to the State Constitution giving universal suffrage. The form of a public whipping can be easily gone through with every negro in the State, as two lashes would be enough to take the vote out of him, and it might be easily provided that not only the said negro whipped but all his descendants likewise shall forever be excluded from the basis of representation. This would be, in fact, but carrying out the Constitutional Amendment, as already provided and ratified, "that if any State shall deprive the negroes of the right to vote for other causes than rebellion and crime, the United States government will, in its turn and as a consequence, expel them from the basis of representation." It is not necessary to whip the negroes for rebellion and crime, but simply to go through the form of whipping them, without any crime being committed—whipping them for their past loyalty, in compliance with the provision that no whipped person shall ever vote.

WHAT CONGRESS OUGHT TO DO.

Now the question is whether we can, as the authors of this unjust and debasing amendment, think to compensate for the injustice by providing a new bill of reconstruction—an enabling act—to enable loyal men in the rebel States to form governments and to put these governments into loyal hands, so that they might protect themselves. Can Congress do this, and make it sure, if they attempt to enforce the amendment? Can Congress possibly make an act of universal suffrage binding on the States after having given those States the right by the amendment of disfranchising whatever classes they please, with the promise or guarantee of excluding all persons so disfranchised from the basis of representation? Being so excluded constitutionally, how can they be brought back? How can these States be compelled to bring them back, if the States alter their own Constitutions to meet the emergency? Congress will already have passed one enabling act if they pass the amendment—if Mr. Seward is permitted to announce the amendment as passed, and a part of the Constitution to enable disloyal and rebellious men to form governments, in rebel States, in rebel hands, to keep down the loyal blacks under them. That is in essence the very enabling act of the Constitutional Amendment.

WHAT JUSTICE AND THE PEOPLE REQUIRE OF CONGRESS.

There has been of late a great and acknowledged advance of the public mind towards justice and equity in the treatment of the colored race. If Congress persists in declaring the amendment a part of the Constitution, they will persist in putting on the nation a garment of injustice and shame, which the spirit of the nation has already outgrown. It [illegible] as [illegible] shackles with convulsive energy if it had the opportunity. Congress is proposing to bind the resurrected Lazarus with his old grave-clothes, and having put him back into the tomb, so chained, they propose a universal resurrection act, whereby this same Lazarus may of his own right and power come forth. But how can he come forth if Congress shuts down on him the ponderous lid of such a degrading disfranchising provision as that which is contained in the second section of the amendment? Let Congress withhold that amendment or return it to the people as ratified. They may justly do so now on the just grounds that the States for whose benefit it was intended have refused to accept it. Let them, then, announce universal suffrage, and say to the rebel States, for every colored citizen, loose him and let him go. There is no way out of the difficulty except by justice to the blacks. If a State is admitted with the right of excluding the colored race from suffrage, it cannot be compelled to give up that right. Certainly the Supreme Court would release the State from any such compulsion. And yet the utmost that our legislators can propose, in their own language, is, "that our only safe way out of the present difficulty is to adopt the Constitutional Amendment and add to this universal suffrage in the States lately in rebellion." But it is already guaranteed to these States that if any of them exclude the blacks, it shall be ratified. Such is the stultification, where injustice and expediency are the rule.

THE RIGHT OF COLORED PERSONS TO TRIAL.

If human beings are to be considered citizens, or not citizens, in the basis of representation or out of it, persons having rights or not having them by virtue of the color of the skin, it is important to know the difference between black and white. How much black makes a man black, how much white makes a man white, are questions that government must put and answer before it can proceed to administer justice by virtue of the skin. If the face is to be the parchment on which the government passes sentence, there is need of some security against mistake. The members of such a government ought to be made up of tanners and curriers, painters, dyers, fullers, colorers, chemists. It would simplify the administration of justice to have a colorimeter in the courts, and the law-books should contain an arrangement and analysis of colors, so as to decide and determine exactly the shades in each man's complexion. This would be a less laborious method of ruling a great empire than by laws, if all that the oriental despot or the modern President has to do is to refer to his skin-chemist to pronounce upon the color. In the process of degradation to which the citizen is to be subjected that claims the right of citizenship—is he to be dragged before a judge possibly as unprincipled ro politically hard-principled as the bench he sits upon, or before a jury as prejudiced as the slave-drivers of the South, and be there exposed to the infamy of a personal examination? to be handled and turned about to enable experts to decide whether he is a man of color or not? If Providence has made it possible for the colored man to evade the torture of this humiliating and degrading inspection, because he is so like the great majority of the whites that a spectator would not dare affirm him to be a colored person, surely he is not compelled to criminate himself and give the judge or the registrar at the polls the means of stamping him with the brand of infamy. And the expediency by which all this injustice is sought to be justified is, that the rebel white race, in the rebel States, have been accustomed to despotize over the blacks as slaves, that they cannot be expected without extreme reluctance to relinquish that power over them even as freedmen, and therefore it is proposed by Congress and the Legislatures of the several Southern States to smooth the way for their return into the Union by giving them that right of disfranchising the blacks which they exercised in the past. And this injustice is perpetrated, even in the State of New York, without denunciation or even comment from church or minister. Let us hope that, by the mercy of God, in this New Year of our national preservation and independence, and by the manliness and resolution of an emancipated and enlightened Congress, this relic of the barbarism of slavery will be swept away, North, South, East and West. Let us hope that our Congress will not quit their work for one moment till not only the Constitutions of the States are purified from the injustice of class legislation in the word "white," but the Constitution of the United States, also, shall be insured against the possibility of ever being made the instrument, even by intimation, of such an iniquity, and to God shall be all the praise!

The sermon was listened to with great attention by a large congregation.

THE DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT.

From the N. Y. Independent.

THE opinion pronounced by the Supreme Court in the case of Milligan has produced a profound impression. This is not caused so much by the fact that the Court decided, in the face of precedents still fresh in the general recollection, that the military commission which tried the traitor and his accomplices was illegal, and its acts void, as that a majority of the judges eagerly embraced the occasion to strike a blow at a long series of measures deemed necessary to crush the rebellion and save the country. We cannot forbear repeating that so much of the opinion as seems to have been concurred in by the whole Court runs counter to grave and well-considered precedents. It inferentially condemns the proceeding of those tribunals which punished Kennedy for attempting to fire the city of New York, and Harrold, Payne, and their associates for conspiring to assassinate Lincoln and Seward, and virtually declares that these men suffered juridico-military murder. While respecting the motives of the four judges who concurred with the majority on the main question involved, we still think they erred in not standing firmly upon these precedents, and that, by abandoning them, they opened the door for the extra-judicial assault of which they complain.

But, waiving this point, and turning to the *obiter dicta* of the five judges, we, in common with the great body of the people who carried the country through its years of peril, regard it as the most dangerous opinion ever pronounced by that tribunal. This opinion has been pondered by our readers. We shall not attempt to disentangle, thread by thread, the net-work of mere technicalities in which the five judges strive to enmesh the national cause. Nor shall we waste criticism on the verbose sophistries with which they labor to conceal the iniquitous doctrines propounded. But we will briefly point out the results to which this political *pronunciamento*, if accepted as sound law, will lead.

Theoretically, the opinion is a condemnation, an outlawry, of all such legislation, and all such Executive and military acts, as were resorted to to preserve the life of the nation, but which lay outside of the beaten track traversed of old by congresses, presidents, and executive departments, ere the gun aimed at Sumter "fired the shot heard round the world." For if, as the majority of the Court say in substance, neither Congress, nor the President, nor the subordinate administrative departments, had power to adopt and enforce, outside of States where the clash of arms was then actually resounding, a coercive military policy, which should levy troops, seize delinquents, punish resistance to the conscription, suspend the *habeas corpus*, and organize tribunals adapted to the exigency, then all laws, proclamations, or orders, tending to these ends, whether seeking to raise men or money for carrying on the war, or to punish those who gave aid and comfort to the enemy, were null and void. Carried to its logical conclusions, it not merely unsettles, but it upheaves, the foundations of a large share of the war legislation of three Congresses. It renders nugatory a long series of proclamations emanating from the executive departments. It nullifies innumerable military orders. It shakes the basis of our finances. It exposes to arrest, indictment, imprisonment, and amercement in damages every official, from the President down to the most petty tax-gatherer, from the commanding general down to the most obscure provost-marshal, who devised or executed any portion of this illegal policy. It nullifies, also, and lays open to like condemnation, much of the legislation, and of the executive and military acts, of the loyal States during the same period, and in furtherance of the same ends.

Nay, more: We have only to press the reasonings of the five judges into the regions of analogy—a line of argument always pursued by lawyers when exploring [illegible] as the courts ever resort in deciding novel cases—to prove that all acts of the government, and especially those of Congress, which have been adopted while ten or eleven States were unrepresented, are unconstitutional and void. We have been surfeited with arguments, some of them from the person now holding the office of Attorney-General, to show that all legislation by Congress while certain States, without their consent, are deprived of "equal suffrage in the Senate," is nugatory. The President has repeatedly denounced Congress as a body hanging on the verge of the government—as the "so-called Congress." He has recently declared that the Supreme Court will, if need be, decide that the pending Constitutional Amendment, though ratified by three-fourths of the thirty-six States, would be void, because not submitted by a Congress legally constituted. And, if the pending Amendment is to be pronounced no part of the Constitution, for the reason assigned, why shall not the glorious provisions which declared the final extinction of slavery be, for the like reason, subjected to the same ordeal, and share the same fate? We know that the President prophesied correctly when, some time ago, he declared in advance that the Court would pronounce the test-oath unconstitutional. May he not be "speaking by the card" in his other recent vaticinations?

It does not avail to say that the five judges do not desire nor expect that their dictum shall be carried to these extremes. It is a familiar legal maxim, from whose force a *court*, at all events, cannot shield itself, that men must be held to mean what they say, to intend what they do, and be responsible for the legitimate and logical consequences of their words and acts. We have not put a specious gloss upon the text of the majority of the Court. Their partisan fulminations have been interpreted in quarters apt at detecting uncertain sounds, and quick to discern the true ring. Speaking in behalf of the whole Johnsonian press, the *World* says that the opinion "convicts the Executive Administration of usurpation during the war, and justifies the opposition made to it by the Democratic party"—that is to say, the Democratic party both North and South, as constituted now, and as it existed during the conflict of arms. But the short answer to this is, that the opinion of the five judges is not law, and will not be so regarded. So far as it bears upon the actual points in issue, and is a determination of the case under review, it will be yielded to. Beyond this, it will be treated as a mere partisan harangue, unseemly because of the source whence it emanated; of no force beyond the intrinsic weight of the arguments adduced; a sorry attempt of five not very distinguished persons to exhibit themselves as profound jurists, whereas they have only succeeded in proving themselves to be very poor politicians.

We regret this decision on many grounds. The Supreme Court had begun to recover the prestige tarnished by the Dred Scott decision. That untoward proceeding imparted a keener edge to the criticisms of Jefferson, Jackson, and Benton, who pronounced the Court an anomaly in our republican system, and declared that its extraordinary power to nullify the laws of Congress, and restrain Executive action, rendered it more dangerous to popular liberty than all other branches of the government. It stimulated a fresh recollection of the historic fact that the King's Bench of England had not presumed, for three hundred years, to pronounce an act of Parliament void. But, now that Taney was in his grave, and some of his colleagues in the Dred Scott infamy had openly joined the rebellion, and the Court had in consequence been partially reorganized, the people had begun to cast approving glances toward a tribunal which had been presided over by Jay and Marshall. The recent decision restores the Court to "the bad eminence" it occupied when Taney dictated its decrees, and will again withdraw from it that entire confidence which a loyal people would fain repose in its adjudications.

It is now nearly ten years since the simultaneous appearance of James Buchanan's inaugural message and Roger B. Taney's Dred Scott *pronunciamento*, discovered to the people an unholy conspiracy between the President and the Supreme Court to betray the old-time liberties of the country. Will not the incautious harangues of Andrew Johnson from the stump, and the graver utterances of the five judges from the bench, arouse in reflecting minds a painful suspicion that another coalition between the Executive and the Judiciary has been formed, whose aim and purpose is to deprive the nation of some of the most cherished results of four years of terrible but successful war? It is not that the recent decision shields from deserved punishment the conspirator whose fate was pending, which provokes so general a protest from the loyal lips of the country. Rather is it the blow, aimed from behind that shield at the patriot cause, which falls so heavily upon the heart of the people. Nor does it lessen the severity of that blow to remember that two of the Judges, without whose aid it could never have been struck, owe their elevation to the great cause, the generous party, and the good man whose interests, whose confidence, whose memory they have cruelly stabbed. But let us take courage! The same people who triumphed over Taney, and stamped his unjust judgment with infamy, are again aroused to battle for the same principles against the same tribunal. We believe that the victory will be swift and sure.

A SPECIMEN OF KENTUCKY MOB LAW.

From the Cincinnati Gazette.

THE spirit of rebellion and the desperate power of prejudice, still live in the State of Kentucky, despite the supremacy of government authority, and the existence of the Civil Rights bill. The one defies public sentiment and transfers the contest from the field of battle to the polls; the other exhibits its hereditary tendencies by wreaking its malice upon the individual members of a race whose enfranchisement from servitude has left bitter and vengeful hostility in ill-balanced minds.

At Danville, Kentucky, on the 24th day of December last, a negro man was attempted to be subjected to arrest by a civil officer, for the offence of carrying upon his person, exposed to view, a pistol. The laws of Kentucky authorize a forfeiture of such weapons, borne upon the person of, or owned by, a negro. The negro resisted the arrest and fired two shots at the officer, neither of which, we have reason to believe, took effect. By the aid of others, closely adjacent at the time, the negro was arrested, disarmed and in close custody led toward the jail, over two squares distant. During the transit to prison the officer continually beat the negro upon the head with a large hickory stick, reducing it externally to the consistency of jelly, while bystanders along the route offered weapons to shoot the prisoner. When in proximity to the prison the officer deliberately shot the negro through the back, the ball passing around the body and inflicting a severe, but not necessarily fatal wound. The negro was then lodged in confinement, wounded, resistless and bleeding. A humane physician examined his injuries and administered medical aid. This occurred about five o'clock in the evening. Threats were made by a number of persons to hang the prisoner, but no advance in that direction was made at the time.

About 11 o'clock at night, with a bright moonlight shining, a number of pedestrians upon the streets, and a cold bleak wind sweeping sharply along the thoroughfare, a band of men, whose number is unknown, save that five entered the jail, obtained the keys from the jailor's wife by threats and menaces, entered the cell, seized the negro, and dragged him out, he being too weak from his wounds to walk. The pleadings of the prisoner for mercy are said to have been heart-rending, and so touched the better nature of one of the party that he suggested that the law be left to take its course, but his humane counsels were met with curses and imprecations from his accomplices, and the voice of mercy was silenced.

The dead body of the negro was found upon the ensuing morning, hanging suspended by the neck to an elm tree, in an old graveyard, within the limits of Danville. It was soon cut down, and lay upon the ground during the entire day, a horrible spectacle, and visited by scores of citizens. Late in the evening it was buried by the relatives of the negro. The coroner's jury found that he came to his death by "hanging, by some persons unknown." No effort was made by said jury to discover the "persons unknown."

And this in Danville, Ky., a town noted for the refinement, intelligence and literary culture of its citizens. This in a community and State claiming to respect the rights of man and the common principles of justice. This in a country claiming the adoption of Christianity and a due obedience to the laws of God. Verily, the fruits of slavery are the delights of Satan. Had the officer of the law, when his authority was disputed and his person endangered, slain the negro, justice would have pronounced it rightly an act of self-defence, and pleaded justification. But when the negro was under arrest, in prison, disarmed, bleeding from his many wounds, unable to walk, subject to the sentence of a law that never loses its victim whose color is *prima facie* evidence of guilt, the act of hanging was nothing short of absolute and inevitable murder.

Now what is the sequel to this terrible tragedy? It is this: The civil officer is held to bail by the civil courts in the sum of $500 to answer the charge of shooting with intent to kill; but no man supposes that it is other than a matter of form. Even if convicted he will not be punished. No citizen in the community where the tragedy was perpetrated dare publicly condemn the unlawful proceeding, for fear of insult, contumely, and probably personal violence. The life of a citizen would be hazarded by the free enunciation of his sentiments in behalf of law and justice.

The occurrence of such affairs in Kentucky demand the immediate interposition of the Legislature of that State. But we fear the action of that body would be futile against the tide of inveterate prejudices and educated hostility.

THE COLORED YOUTH OF PHILADELPHIA.

BY A MASSACHUSETTS TEACHER.

AMONG many things that interested me in Philadelphia was a visit of three hours time to an institute for colored people, of which I had never heard till about a fortnight ago, when I attended its exhibition in National Hall. This institute has been in existence about ten years. It was founded by two Quakers, who left money in their wills to form a school in which colored children and youth should be thoroughly educated from the primary up to the collegiate department. It has an excellent building, three stories high, with large halls for school-rooms. The primary departments are on the first floor; the academic on the second; and in the third story are recitation-rooms, with blackboards all round.

The exhibition was in the second largest hall in the city. Next year it is to be in the great Opera House. Every one of its present teachers is colored. The principal is a Mr. Bassett, who was educated in the Normal School of Connecticut. He is a broad-faced, very dark mulatto, in whom the negro nearly puts out all trace of the white. Nothing can be more modest and unassuming than his manners were at the exhibition. We had a Latin salutatory, a Greek oration, and several fine English essays and poems, by both males and females, of ages from twelve to twenty years. The exercises showed wit, humor, pathos, admirable thought and eloquence, and were well delivered. The primary classes recited simultaneously, first a poem, and then a psalm, making a really beautiful exercise. Nothing could have been more creditable than all the performances, and they received rounds of applause from an audience of two thousand people, all of whom went in by ticket. In the two days before these performances there had been most searching examinations before the trustees and some of the best educated gentlemen of the city. And on the third day before, there had been a meeting of the alumni of the institute, on which occasion there were orations and poems. I understand that these were quite a marvel, and sufficient, as Mr. Turner said, to set at rest any doubt as to the equality of the negro to the white; for pure negroes did as well as any whites do on similar occasions. I was unable to attend the meeting of the alumni, but I was desirous to see the school in undress; so, after a week's vacation, I went to Mr. Bassett's. At my request he called his second Latin class, and heard the pupils say their last lesson, at which they had not looked since three weeks before. It was a page of Viri Romæ which they had read, translated and parsed. I never heard a severer recitation, and I myself never tasked any class with such questions. Their application of rules, theoretically and practically, was of the highest order. The class consisted of about twenty, half of them girls, and five-sixths pure negroes, many of them very ugly and stupid *looking*; but even these were marvellously keen-minded. After listening half-an-hour I went into a room where a class in the Greek Testament was reciting to a Miss Jackson, a mulatto girl who had graduated at Oberlin College. She is in person of elegant form and manners, with a most pleasing face. Her manner of teaching was a model, so courteous, animated and encouraging was it, and such evident mastery of the language did it show. It was the *parsing* which was most wonderful. There were here also about twenty young men and women, all prepared in the theory of the Greek moods and tenses. I do not believe that there was ever a more thorough and brilliant recitation in any school or college. But the Latin and Greek classes had their respected grammars at their tongues ends, and thoroughly in mind too. I next entered a mathematical room, where a class of about thirty boys, about twelve years old, was examined in Colburn's Mental Arithmetic in a section in which the operation was four and five-fold. The teacher of this class, a Mr. Allen, was as handsome and refined looking as Mr. Purvis must have been in his prime, with an expression of sweetness and of subtle intellectuality that I have hardly seen combined in any face I ever saw. He was a graduate of this very institute, and seemed to be very fond of his profession, and was evidently very much loved by the boys. They went through the exercises splendidly, repeating the question, then giving the theory of the operation; and if there occurred the least slip every hand in the class was thrust out. Then a stranger who was present, a great mathematician, explained to them some curious methods of analyzing numbers, which they eagerly attended to, and immediately caught and performed themselves. They multiplied such numbers as thirty-five times twenty-eight instantaneously, as it seemed to me, so quickly did they take the idea of the rule, although it was the first time that they had ever been tried. The questioner said that he had never seen a better arithmetical class.

I next went into the room of the girls' primary class, taught by a Miss Douglas. She is a full-blooded, uncrossed negro. As the girls were all sewing I would not let her call them into class.

To all doubters of the mental equality of the negro to the white, I would commend a visit to this school, on Shippen and Tenth streets, Philadelphia. There are always there from two to three hundred scholars. Those who go through four years academic course receive a diploma and a degree. Although the school is an endowed one, the primary scholars pay five dollars and the others ten dollars a year. There are at least six teachers, and French, Spanish and German, besides all the English branches, are taught.

Some of the students at the University of Pennsylvania told the following story to a young lady, who told it to me: One day three of them were disputing about the translation of a very difficult passage in Greek, which they could not make out, when a black girl, who was scouring the floor, rose up, and said, with perfect modesty, "I can help you out of that difficulty, gentlemen, if you will allow me." They laughed, and, thinking she was crazy, they gave her the book, when, to their amazement, she translated the passage and explained the construction. They asked her how she knew. She said that she was very fond of the Greek classics. She had worked in the day-time to earn money to go to a certain evening school, at which she had learned Latin and Greek.

On Thursday and Friday I went to the Anti-Slavery Convention, where they were denouncing the Philadelphia barbarism of excluding the colored people from the horse-cars. A gentleman told me of a colored girl who was studying Greek with him in the intervals of a laborious daily life, and who had to walk two miles to get to him and recite, because she was not allowed to ride in the cars that admit drunken Irishmen.

On Thursday night I went to the annual meeting of the Freedmen's Education Commission, presided over by Judge Chase, who made a good speech. Lyman Abbot read the report, and made a fine speech. So did Phillips Brooks, Gen. Howard and Judge Bond. They all insisted that universal suffrage was the one thing indispensable to the negro and loyal *white of* the South. Gen. Howard [illegible] *negroes* had the vote, they would support the schools themselves. Already the negroes of Arkansas paid nearly five dollars a head for all the scholars that were taught; and Judge Bond said that the negro children of Maryland paid ten cents a week, under all their difficulties. But I have neither room nor time for more to-night.—*Boston Commonwealth.*

THE PRACTICAL REVIVAL OF SLAVERY.

From the Detroit Post.

WHEN Congress proposed the Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery, it was urged by many that its abolition should be complete and unequivocal in terms. The proposition of these men was that the amendment should read: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist within the United States, or in any place subject to their jurisdiction." This form of expression would have made an end of slavery forever. But there were a large number of Congressmen who, being lawyers by profession, were profoundly impressed with the claims of precedent. The language of all new laws must be the same as the language of old laws. And as a former Congress, in 1787, had passed an ordinance prohibiting slavery or involuntary servitude, "*except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted,*" and as most of the free State Constitutions had adopted this form of words, merely because it was a precedent, they insisted upon putting the same old phrase into the new Amendment. Now there was not a solitary Republican Senator or Representative who, if asked, could tell why he wanted that exception in the Constitution, only because it was precedent. Ask any one of them if he was in favor of *slavery* "as a punishment for crime, whereof the party has been duly convicted," and he will answer with an indignant "no." Well, if you did not believe in and were opposed to slavery as a punishment for crime, why did you make that exception, thus expressly authorizing and legalizing slavery in the case of criminals? The only reply any of these wise Congressmen could make would be the reply they did make in Congress, at the time the amendment was under debate, that it looked better to adopt the precise words of the fathers of the Republic, and the clause would sound more natural and convenient in the mouths of stump speakers accustomed to refer to the ordinance of 1787.

Now, let us see the fatal effect of this miserable exception. The Southern States have enacted laws, and are enforcing them, punishing vagrancy, and all sorts of petty offences, by selling the offender into slavery for a term of years. Laws may be enacted declaring that petty larceny, assault and battery, vagrancy, gambling, adultery, fornication, perjury, or any other crimes or misdemeanors, shall be punished by fine, or *being sold into slavery for life.* Such laws will be in exact accordance with the Constitution. Under them slavery can be constitutionally and lawfully revived, and protected by the full power of the United States.

In Maryland, North and South Carolina, Mississippi, Georgia, and other States, this very day, the pro-slavery planters are taking advantage of this fatal exception, and stocking their plantations with genuine, lawful slaves once more. Under the laws freedmen are duly convicted of crime, and sold as slaves for terms of years, purchased by planters, and worked under the lash as slaves. The plan working well, the laws will speedily be arranged so as to punish various crimes with slavery for life. The most that Congress can do is to see to it that the same penalties apply to whites also. Very well: let us see how this will work. The planters select from among the freedmen roundabout the likely hands. They watch these and complain of them under laws framed expressly to catch negroes, for vagrancy, or for petty theft, or, as the freedmen own no land, for trespass, or any trumped up charge will do. The likely hand is arrested; the testimony of the planter or his agent is taken by the prejudiced and perhaps secretly-feed magistrate; the poor freedman is sentenced to pay a fine or be sold; he cannot pay the fine, having no money, and is sold as a slave to the cunning planter, who thus secures a slave cheaply and lawfully. The law applies equally to whites,

proof that the new law of slavery is really applied to whites and blacks alike.

We are already informed by the telegraph that "the sale of freedmen for light offences is going forward rapidly in all parts of North Carolina, and some of the planters are already boasting that the old order of things is practically restored for them, as they now *own their gangs*, and have them in good subjection."

Congress must find a remedy for this present state of affairs, and against the danger of still worse abuses in the future. Where will it find the constitutional authority for such a remedy, however? It will, probably, be sought in the second clause of the Amendment, which gives Congress power to enact laws for carrying into effect the first clause. But it is claimed, not without some point, that this clause is rather restrictive than otherwise in certain respects. It is certainly liable to a construction by the courts that will limit Congress to the actual carrying out of the first clause, *with its full exception*. Certainly it would be a strange rendering by any court that Congress may legislate away an exception expressly provided and guaranteed. Inasmuch as the Constitution expressly provides that slavery may be established as a punishment for crime, it seems plain enough that Congress cannot pass any law to prevent the establishment of the form of slavery thus guaranteed and provided for by the Constitution. And as prevention is probably impossible, such remedy as can be provided by regulation, which Congress has power to apply, must be promptly and severely applied.

Such, at least, seems to us to be the present situation; and such it must remain, until a new Amendment shall be proposed and carried, striking out from the Constitution the words, "except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted," thus leaving the prohibition of human slavery complete and absolute throughout the limits of the republic. Let us hope that many years will not pass before slavery in every form and under any pretext, is finally eradicated from our system of government.

If any are fearful lest this change should operate to abolish imprisonment and convict labor in prisons, let them dismiss their fears. The exception, if it means these, can be and should be made to declare what it means in plain, unmistakable language. We have no objection to putting in the place of the present exception, the words, "except compulsory labor in prisons and reformatory institutions, to which the party shall have been duly sentenced upon conviction of crime." This would be a widely different phrase, with a widely different meaning, from that now employed. It would be unequivocal, common-sense, straightforward English language, which neither courts nor people could misunderstand.

But there is a remedy which, it seems to us, will cure not only this but many other evils in the South. That remedy is universal suffrage. Men who are voters cannot easily be reduced to slavery, in any form. Certainly slavery cannot be imposed upon a race of voters. Give the freedmen the ballot, and the exception in the Constitution will be reduced to as harmless a state, or nearly so, as it possesses in the North. Let the freedmen have an equal power in making the laws and in executing them, and they will protect themselves against slavery and involuntary servitude. This is so obvious that it needs no argument to prove its truth. Outside of another Constitutional Amendment there is no other clearly apparent and probably sufficient remedy except this. And the evil is one that is likely to grow rapidly; therefore it will not safely admit of delay. Let Congress act speedily in the matter of reconstruction upon just principles. Every hour some new discovery of outrage or of danger furnishes a fresh argument for terminating the present anomalous situation, and shows in a new light the necessity of prompt, circumspect and decided action.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 19, 1867.

Special Premium.

THE STANDARD FOR 1867.

$100 AND SIX PER CENT. INTEREST IN GOLD.

We have received from a gentleman well known as an earnest, influential friend of freedom, a One Hundred Dollar Five-Twenty Government Bond, with six per cent. interest-bearing coupons attached, payable in gold, which he desires us to offer as a special premium to whoever will send us the largest number of subscribers for the year 1867.

He says in his note: "I want you to offer in the next STANDARD, as a premium, to whoever will get the most subscribers to it for the year 1867, a $100 Government Bond, and the interest. I send it to you, so that the person who earns it shall be sure of getting it and the accrued gold interest. I do not want any conditions added, except that the money for the paper must be paid either when the subscription is sent in, or before the first of July. There may be many or few, but the more the better, and the one who gets the *most* shall have the premium, whether the number be *ten* or *one thousand!*"

We are not at liberty to give the name of the donor, but he adds: "You may say it comes from one who would not miss the STANDARD for all the other papers he knows."

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A. M. POWELL,
Editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard,
39 Nassau street, New York.

MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will hold its annual meeting at the Mercantile Hall, Summer street, Boston, on FRIDAY, JANUARY 25th. The emergency of the Nation's and the Negro's cause will, of course, call a large audience together.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, Rev. JAS. FREEMAN CLARKE, WM. WELLS BROWN, HENRY C. WRIGHT, Rev. GEO. H. HEPWORTH, C. L. REMOND, and others.

J. T. SARGENT, President.

HON. CHARLES SUMNER will please accept our thanks for the *Congressional Globe*, five volumes, containing the debates and proceedings of the first session of the Thirty-ninth Congress.

THE SUPREME COURT.

The late decisions of the Supreme Court show us that we must henceforth count two of the three great co-equal powers of the government against us. Henceforth Congress fights alone for the nation against the Supreme Court and the President, leagued in the service of rebeldom. Of course, therefore, the contest grows keener and more equal, and the South takes courage. The North is not discouraged, because she knows her omnipotence, knows that she can crush all the mere *forms* of government when it is necessary so to do in order to secure its great purpose—justice, and the preservation of national existence. This the people mean to do, and will do unless baulked by timid, selfish, incompetent and corrupt leaders.

The action of the Supreme Court—its disloyalty—will not surprise Abolitionists; we have tested that bench for thirty years. Ever since Taney—the mere creature of a self-willed President—took his seat there, it has ceased to be an independent branch of the government, and become the convenient and supple tool of the Executive. Abolitionists well know that, during the whole course of its existence, it has never squared its decisions on the slave question either with justice, the spirit of the Constitution, or even its letter when that favored liberty. While its course on many great issues has been open to grave objection, its record on the negro question is infamous. We use the word deliberately. The use of it in this connection twenty-five years ago, won us the unmitigated abuse of the whole American press. We have maturely considered their protest, and remaining of the same opinion still, deliberately repeat the statement. Without limiting the remark to the slave question, we affirm that, on several important subjects, no instinct of freedom has ever led that Court to deviate by accident or for a moment into any decision becoming the American people, their history, Constitution, or Declaration of Independence. An effort would have been made early in the war to remodel the Court, but for a very general distrust of Mr. Lincoln's policy in filling vacancies there. Thaddeus Stevens, when appealed to in 1862 to neutralize the poison of that Bench by adding two or three trustworthy judges, replied: "Add judges for Abraham to nominate! I had rather risk the Court as it is." Events have confirmed his sagacity, two of Lincoln's nominees having joined the enemy.

If present appearances may be trusted, that Court, like the President, is henceforth to stand an insurmountable obstacle, as at present constituted, to any efficient and safe reconstruction. Thanks to the Dred Scott and other decisions, the Bench has long ago lost the sympathy and respect of the masses. Gen. Jackson could not lift Taney to the Bench; he could drag the Bench down to Taney. There are men whom it is impossible to make respectable, since they have no element to win respect. There is no human institution so venerable that the touch of vile men will not defile and degrade it. Ten years ago, the final cause of such a creature as Taney was inexplicable. To-day, the mystery is solved. No element less repulsive and discreditable than his character would have sufficed to utterly bankrupt such a power as that Court, which, in its pristine vigor—serving tyranny with decorum—might have overawed and misled the people in this crisis.

It will need but little effort to show the people the true course to be taken in this emergency. *The nation must be saved*, no matter what or how venerable the foe whose existence goes down before that necessity. The ideal of such a court, aloof from all political ambition, far above all party spirit, unimpassioned as justice, was a grand conception. Such a court would have been an in[illegible]ment in our system. Until some twenty years, the masses have regarded it as a Bench basing its decisions on definite, unvarying and easily-understood principles. Of late it is seen to be what it is, a mere appendage to party. Appointed for life, its judges must, of course, often find themselves appurtenant, by their prejudices and associations, to a defeated party. Such is their present position; and, like all fragments and elements of the old, disloyal Democratic party, its fate is certain. The moment there arises in the Republican ranks a man bold enough to strike, the people will applaud the blow. There will be the same outcry and the same resistance, from the same quarters, as there was when Anti-Slavery first demanded that the nation should mould its form or its spirit. The outcry and resistance will be just as vain in this case as in that. The instincts of the masses, the consciences of just men, the spirit of the age, and God's law, all demand that the inspiration and corner-stone of this government shall be justice. The Constitution, with its time-honored compromises held up by the strongest of parties, was dust in the balance against such a current. This Court will prove the same. The dry rot of its political subservience has made it an empty form. The wind of the blow that demolished slavery were enough to scatter this obstacle from our path.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

THE FESTIVAL.

IN another column we publish the call for the Subscription Festival, held in Boston, on Thursday evening, January 26th.

No words of ours are needed to enforce its earnest appeal. Our friends know on how few shoulders rests the support of the American Anti-Slavery Society; they know also how vitally important is the work left to us to do. Every successive development of the slaveholders plot to save his inhuman system from the fate to which Northern victory has doomed it; every revelation of the weakness and indecision of the present leaders of the Republican party; every outrage on the defenceless negro, shows us how necessary, how indispensable it is that his old friends should relax no whit of their vigilance, but should be untiringly active in his behalf. If the South succeeds in separating herself from the nation or in her plot to govern it, the negroes fate will be sad indeed. Present events show that the South still plots to do one or the other of these things. It would not be exaggeration to say that a temporary success in either direction is as much within the limits of possibility as it was in 1861. Let every Abolitionist, therefore, rally, and rouse all his friends. Such are the chains of party that in few columns but ours does the whole truth get uttered. Give us, then, the means to spread and deepen the influence of THE STANDARD and keep the living voice still at work uttering its warning. No hour in the whole history of the cause has needed more vigilance, activity and self-devotion than to-day does.

Rally, therefore, friends, and stand shoulder to shoulder now when the battle waxes hottest. Intrigue bids fair to be more potent than arms. Counsel, protest, entreaty and warning are as much needed as ever.

The ladies expect, we understand, to offer more varied entertainment than last year. Vocal music, the organ, and addresses from Mr. Phillips, Mr. Hepworth, and others, are expected.

SLAVE-HUNTING, which, it was supposed, we had heard the last of, has been revived in Maryland, as well as the auction-block and the whipping-post. The *Tribune's* Washington correspondent telegraphs, Jan. 15, that—

"Two colored boys who escaped from their former master, G. Watkins of Montgomery County, Maryland, were brought before Judge Wylie of the Supreme Court of this District yesterday on a writ of habeas corpus, and after a hearing the Court ordered the children to be returned to their old master. The ground of such restitution was based upon the evidence that the children had, under a Maryland statute, been apprenticed to Watkins after their emancipation. The counsel for the relatives of the children pleaded ill-treatment by the master, and that the apprenticing of the children was in violation of the Civil Rights bill, in that the laws of Maryland on the subject of apprenticing the children of emancipated slaves make a distinction between white and colored; that they do not require the master to educate the latter; and further, that these children were apprenticed without the consent of their natural protectors. The evidence went to show that these children were in a most destitute and deplorable condition when they reached their father in Georgetown, being covered with vermin, and their clothes ragged and dirty.

The mother, who had been the slave of Watkins, had died, since her emancipation, in the woods, from sheer neglect and hunger. These facts were testified to upon the hearing of the case. After the order of the Court an appeal was taken, but before service could be had the master departed with the children."

"RECONSTRUCTED" SOUTH CAROLINA.

IMPORTANT LETTER OF MAJOR-GEN. J. C. ROBINSON—TWENTY-TWO NEGRO PRISONERS DELIBERATELY BURNED TO DEATH BY A REBEL SHERIFF AND JAILOR—A WHITE PRISONER ALLOWED TO ESCAPE.

Major-Gen. J. C. Robinson, commanding Department of the South, has addressed to Gen. Scott the following letter, which explains itself:

HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE SOUTH,
CHARLESTON, S. C., Jan. 10, 1867.

Brevet Major-Gen. H. K. SCOTT, *Com'g Mil. Com. S. C.*

GENERAL: According to an article in the Charleston *Daily News* of this morning, it appears that the jail at Kingstree, S. C., has been destroyed by fire, and 22 colored prisoners smothered or burned to death, while the only white prisoner was permitted to escape. The article states that the jailor who had the keys refused to open the doors without the authority of the Sheriff, and the Sheriff refused to act without the orders of the Lieutenant commanding the troops at Kingstree. This statement presents a degree of barbarity that would appear incredible except in a community where no value is placed upon the lives of colored citizens. The general commanding directs that you cause an immediate and thorough investigation of this affair; that in the meantime you arrest the Sheriff and Jailor, and if the facts prove to be as stated, that you hold them in military confinement under the charge of murder, until the civil authorities shall be ready and willing to try them.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
J. W. CLOUS, Brevet Captain, and 1st. Lieut. 5th Infantry, Acting Assistant Adjutant-General.'

RECONSTRUCTION in Congress has made little progress the past week. Some good speeches have been made. The latest bill of special importance is Mr. Ashley's. This bill to which we alluded last week, is offered as a substitute for Mr. Stevens' "enabling act," abolishes the present Governments of the rebel States, and declares their acts null and void. It provides for an election, by all male citizens over twenty-one years of age who can take a specified oath of loyalty, of a convention of delegates of similar qualifications, who shall determine whether the States will accept the conditions imposed by Congress. Accepting them, they shall prepare for elections on the adoption of a republican constitution containing, among other provisions, that all men are free and equal before the law, and that laws shall be impartial; that no payment shall be made for any debt contracted in the Rebellion, nor for the loss or emancipation of slaves; that no person who has held office under the rebel Government shall hold any under the new State Government until he shall have been purged of treason by a two-thirds vote of the Legislature, and that in case of future rebellion the re[illegible]ons of the State with [illegible]ment shall be suspended until the State is purged of treason. The constitution being ratified by the people and accepted by Congress, all will be right. If they are rejected, the States are at liberty to submit other constitutions to Congress, which shall, however, embody the fundamental conditions above specified. The bill also provides for the suspension of *habeas corpus* by the Provisional Governments in case of resistance to their authority.

HON. SIMON CAMERON was elected to the United States Senate from Pennsylvania on the 15th inst., in place of Senator Cowan, whose term expires March 4th. If the following, which we clip from a speech made by Cameron to his friends after the election, may be accepted as an earnest of his future course, he will be, if not as great a gain as Mr. Stevens would have been, a great improvement upon Cowan. He said:

"Six years ago I thought that slavery was the strength of the rebellion, and ought to be destroyed without delay. I wished also to arm all black men who would volunteer. Of course I thought that clothing a black man in the American uniform, clothed him also with the rights of an American citizen, and I am always sorry to see a black soldier and reflect that even Pennsylvania denies him the ballot, the only weapon whereby he can protect himself. I hope to live to see the word "white" stricken from the Constitution, and the spirit of caste based upon color utterly destroyed. The South, however, is more controlled by social influence than by political principles. If you are wise and firm, you may possibly educate the rising generation into loyalty; but there is no method of statesmanship which will make this generation of the South loyal to the Union and to the flag. The poison of 30 years cannot be eradicated by the subserviency of the President or by the statutes of Congress. Let us look the truth in the face. The Southern territory is disloyal. The loyal men of to-day must guard their children against another treasonable rebellion. The Constitutional Amendment and impartial suffrage will help to do this; but universal amnesty will help to undo it. Of Andrew Johnson I said, long ago, that he was a traitor to his party, an enemy of his country and a bad man."

THE SUPREME COURT has rendered another decision, over which rebeldom rejoices, to the effect that the test oath, as applied to attorneys, preachers, etc., is unconstitutional.

The following dispatch, from the New Orleans correspondent of the *Tribune*, dated Jan. 15, is a sufficient comment:

There is a general rejoicing among the rebel members of the bar over the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court rendered yesterday rescinding the rule which required attorneys to take the test-oath. Judge Durell readmitted to practice this morning in the United States District Court all the rebels upon taking the oath again to support the Constitution of the United States. A rumor is afloat that Gen. Beauregard and Mayor Munroe will invite the Supreme Courts here to the banquet to be given in honor of the decision. The *Picayune* says:

"Indeed, it may well be a source of general congratulation throughout the Southern States that the great *Magna Charta* of human rights and liberties has been so nobly and triumphantly vindicated. St. Paul said, 'Where the spirit of the Lord is there is liberty.'"

MR. GARRISON'S article on Impeachment, which we copy from the *Independent*, will be perused with much interest by our readers. It is the first he has written for several months. We rejoice with him in his relief from severe physical suffering. We are glad also of his added voice at the present time to the call for the prompt impeachment and deposition of an infamous President, who has treasonably betrayed alike the blacks and the loyal whites of the nation. Each week of delay renders still more apparent the urgent necessity of this constitutional measure.

THE PHILADELPHIA FESTIVAL will be held to-morrow (Thursday) evening, in National Hall, Market st., betwen Twelfth and Thirteenth. It will be an occasion of unusual interest. We urge every reader who may see this paragraph in time, and who has not yet procured a ticket, to spare no effort to be present.

THE BROOKLYN FRATERNITY Course of Lectures on National Affairs will be given in the Academy of Music as follows:

WENDELL PHILLIPS, Tuesday evening, February 5.

HENRY WARD BEECHER, Wednesday evening, February 13.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, Tuesday evening, February 19.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Tuesday evening, February 26.

Tickets for the Course, including reserved seats, $2.00, may be had at S. Dyas & Co.'s, 246 Fulton street, Brooklyn.

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, it will be seen by a notice elsewhere, is to be held at the Mercantile Hall, Boston, on Friday of next week. In the present condition of public affairs, as affecting the negro's rights, and with the eloquent speakers expected to be present, the meeting cannot fail to be one of great interest. We hope no one of our New England readers, whose attendance is possible, will fail to be at the Annual Meeting, and at the Festival to be held the previous evening.

A MEETING to celebrate the triumph of Equal Suffrage for the colored men of the District of Columbia will be held at the Cooper Institute to-morrow (Thursday) evening. Rev. Dr. Cheever will preside, and addresses will be delivered by Rev. H. H. Garnet, Hon. Hamilton Fish, and others. We hope the meeting may be numerously attended and give timely help to the cause of universal suffrage.

HON. ROSCOE CONKLING was elected United States Senator from this State on the 13th inst., in place of Senator Harris, whose term will expire on the fourth of March next. From among the available candidates a better choice could not probably have been made.

PERSONAL.

Anna E. Dickinson will give her new lecture, "Something to Do," referred to in another column by our Philadelphia correspondent, in this city at the Cooper Institute, on Tuesday evening, February 19th.

W. M. Thayer, Esq., in the *Right Way*, presents the following contrast:

"On the 20th of April, 1861, Andrew Johnson, United States Senator, since Brigadier-General, and Military Governor of Tennessee, while *en route* to Washington through Lynchburg, Va., was hooted at and threatened with violence by rebels.

"In the Summer of 1866, Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, while swinging in a circle, was hooted at and derided by loyalists in several Western cities *en route* to the tomb of a dead man whom almost everybody had forgotten.

"To-day, rebels profess to love the man they then hated, and Union men despise the acts of the man who cheated them into the belief of his sincerity."

A correspondent of the *Right Way* says: "Senator Wilson states that two thousand negroes have been murdered in Texas the past year. Senator Roberts of Texas computes the number as above twenty-seven hundred. This in Texas alone. How many have been murdered in other States? And how many United States officers and soldiers have been assassinated during the same time? Do the records of the Freedmen's Bureau show? We have heard from private sources of unquestionable credit, that, *at one single post, no less than eight officers of the Freedmen's Bureau have been successively murdered.*

"In other countries, the Commander-in-Chief of the army is supposed to have some care of, and some responsibility for, the lives of his men. Have we a Commander-in-Chief of th[illegible] or is Mr. Grant nothing but a horse-jockey?"

Rev. M. D. Conway writes to the *Commonwealth*: "I have just seen a report of a speech made by Mrs. Stanton at the Albany Equal Rights Convention, in which she states it as her opinion that English women will be enfranchised before their American sisters. I should be sorry to believe this—for I think it will be some generations before England enfranchises women. As a general thing, England will always wait until America has experimented in a thing before adopting it. It is notable, however, that the discussion of woman suffrage in America excites universal interest here, and is despised by none. The papers were generally disappointed that Mrs. Stanton was not elected. It is now affirmed, confidently on what grounds I do not know, except that he was the first to mention the subject seriously in Parliament, that Disraeli is warmly in favor of a household suffrage for women, and means to unite with Mill in pressing on the coming Parliament a measure of that kind. Of the farmers and graziers in England there are one-tenth women, or 23,000 in the 227,000; of traders one in twenty-three is a woman."

Dr. J. E. Snodgrass, of this city, contributes to the New York *Weekly* an interesting historical article on the subject of Almanacs. He mentions the fact that among the first Almanacs computed in this country was one by Benjamin Banneker, a colored man of Maryland. We quote:

"The first printed Almanac which has come down to us appeared at Augsburgh in 1491. It is entirely in rhyme, as was the early style. It computed for several successive years, instead of one, as now, and goes on to tell how it was formed to describe the months as they are made by Nature, and the influence of the stars; to give instruction as to meat and drink; on physicing, bathing, and the management of health; to teach how a child should be educated; also, how the plague is to be escaped, etc. It is a curious evidence of the little depth that popular education has reached in England, that the great and wealthy corporation of the Stationers' Company should continue to publish and sell every year some hundred thousand copies of "Moore's Almanac," the chief attraction of which consists in its astrological predictions and hieroglyphics, savoring more of the spirit of the fifteenth century than of the nineteenth.

"It is a singular fact that among the first Almanacs computed in this country, was one by a colored man in Maryland, named Benjamin Banneker. This descendant of Africa, although self-taught, gave this as one of numerous proofs of rare scientific acquirements, which caused even Thomas Jefferson to think it no dishonor to own and cherish him as a correspondent."

"Warrington" of the Springfield *Republican* says: "Senator Sumner has again gloriously made use of his parliamentary privileges to postpone the Nebraska bill which Ben Wade and his soft brethren are trying to push through the Senate. I am not without hopes that the bill will be dead even without the finishing blow of a veto, after the recess is over. The Tennessee experiment is returning to plague its inventors. Wade finds in it his best excuse for his present course. All but four of you, he says to the Senate, voted against the proposition to impose upon Tennessee a condition as to suffrage; I was one of the four, but the sense of the Senate was overwhelmingly against me, and now that a loyal Territory asks to be admitted on the same terms as a disloyal State, shall I stand out against it? His point is good for nothing against Sumner, for he also was one of the four; nor does it excuse Wade; but it is good against the majority of the Senate. These territorial bills, if rightly used, that is to say, if killed and buried as soon as Congress meets again, will subserve an admirable purpose. The present danger is that the Southern States will reconsider their purpose of rejecting the Constitutional Amendment, and that the foolish and false claims (already acceded to by Wade himself) that they can come in afterwards without further conditions, will be conceded by both branches of the Senate."

TO LYCEUM MANAGERS.—MRS. FRANCES E. W. HARPER, formerly of Boston, has prepared two lectures, "The Nation's Great Opportunity," and "The Colored Man as a Social and Political Force," which she will deliver to Lyceums, etc. Application may be made direct to Mrs. Harper, No. 107 North-Fifth street, Philadelphia. She has permission to refer to Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Esq., Revs. R. C. Waterson, John T. Sargent and Leonard A. Grimes, Charles W. Slack, Esq., and Mrs. J. C. Johnson, 78 Temple street.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, January 13, 1867.

You would naturally expect that the brave stand made by the men of Crete in behalf of their rights as men and their independence as Greeks would arouse the sympathy of the people of Boston, and that some movement would be made here to relieve the wants and save the lives, as far as may be, of their wives and children. At a meeting held for this purpose in the lower Music Hall, last week, we had vivid and eloquent expressions of the feelings inspired by such oppression and barbarity as the Turks are now inflicting upon the people of Crete. Dr. S. G. Howe—who had shown his interest in the same cause by going as a volunteer to fight for the Greeks forty-five years ago, and going again to carry and distribute supplies furnished by the American people—was, most fitly, the chairman of the meeting. His introductory remarks were followed by speeches by Dr. Huntington, Wendell Phillips and ex-Gov. Andrew, and well suited to draw forth a liberal subscription. A Committee was chosen to make appeal to our citizens for this purpose, and to receive and send their contributions, and the work is now in progress. It is understood that if $20,000 shall be raised here, Dr. Howe will go to Crete to superintend its distribution.

A hearing was given last Friday, by Gov. Bullock and the Executive Council, to various persons who urged a commutation of the sentence of John Moran from death to imprisonment for life. This case was of a young men of Irish descent, educated in the Roxbury schools, and of character previously unexceptionable, who, under the excitement of learning that a girl to whom he had been ardently attached, and whom he expected to marry, had shamefully betrayed his confidence and trifled with his affection for a year past, committed the murder in question. The abundant testimony adduced of his previous good character, and of a serious disease of the heart under which he labored, would not probably have led to the commutation asked for, had it not appeared that the jury had been led, by the dogmatism and persistence of their foreman, to assent to a verdict of murder in the first degree (the *capital* crime), when the great majority of them really believed the accused guilty only in the second degree, and not at all deserving of the punishment of death. Several of them appeared on this occasion and testified to a division of opinion which had existed in the jury-room, and to the fact that they (and they believed others also of the jury) had consented to a verdict really contrary to their judgment, on the representation of the foreman, who seemed determined to carry this point, and who assured them that a commutation of punishment would certainly be obtained from another quarter.

There are many people among us who think that the State has no right, any more than private individuals, deliberately to take life, and that the worst thing you can do with a man is to hang him. But the peculiar circumstances of this case enlisted also the sympathies of various gentlemen who defend and uphold the infliction of capital punishment in cases of deliberately purposed murder. Among these were Rev. Henry M. Dexter, pastor of the Berkeley street (Orthodox Congregational) Church, Rev. J. W. Olmstead, editor of the (Baptist) *Watchman and Reflector*, and John C. Park, Esq., formerly District Attorney here. The latter admitted that he felt very uncomfortable at the reflection that a man under the circumstances of the one now accused might be hung under the provisions of a law which he had helped to sustain; and it appeared that the Governor of Massachusetts by whom he had been appointed had made it his particular request that the degrees of guilt in homicide might be better distinguished, and the penalty more justly allotted to them, than had formerly been done in our criminal courts. He was still in favor of capital punishment in some cases; but he would have its infliction confined not only to cases where deliberate premeditation of murder was proved, but to cases in which more harm would be done by avoiding than by inflicting the punishment.

Several persons spoke in advocacy of a commutation of punishment in this case, but the most elaborate and effective speech was made by Ex-Gov. Andrew, who said he had come to assist in making it easy for the Governor and Council to do what he felt they had already predetermined. He had never been in favor of inflicting the death, though during his administration he had twice inflicted it. He proceeded to show, by statistics from the criminal records of European nations, that though the death penalty was very generally the policy of nations as a legislative system, it was not so generally as an administrative system, and that only a small proportion of sentences to death were now executed. In our own country, for twenty years past, nearly two-thirds of these sentences have been commuted. Even in England, whose criminal code has been eminently bloody and cruel, the temper of the people and the crown has been steadily growing wiser and more humane than the statutes; and on the continent of Europe, while there is great difference between different countries in this particular, there is a very large, and an increasing, proportional number of cases where imprisonment is substituted for the penalty of death first awarded.

After this hearing the Governor and Council went into secret session; and in ten minutes it was announced that they had unanimously decided to change Moran's sentence to imprisonment for life.

The recent choice of officers for the year in our Boston Social Science Association gives a specimen of the increasing appreciation of women's co-operating in public affairs. The institution includes seven departments, each presided over by a Vice-President and two Counsellors. The Counsellors for the present year are as follows:

Department of Health—Dr. George Derby and Dr. Marie E. Zakrzewska.

Department of Education—Rev. E. B. Webb and Mrs. Frederick Winsor.

Department of Charity—Hon. R. C. Winthrop and Mrs. C. M. Severance.

Department of Recreation—Hon. Josiah Quincy and Miss Lucy Goddard.

Department of Public Morals—Rev. W. M. Thayer and Mrs. F. C. Paine.

Department of Business—David Wilder, Jr., and Miss Abby W. May.

Department of Laws—Hon. Theophilus Parsons and Mrs. Ednah D. Cheney.

Those who know these ladies know that they are qualified to render admirable service, both in counsel and in administration, not less than their distinguished colaborers.

After the choice of officers, there was a continuance of the discussion held in two previous meetings on the improvements in education and discipline needed in our public schools. Mr. Philbrick, Superintendent of the Public Schools in Boston, made an extended address maintaining the necessity of still leaving the power of corporal punishment in the hands of the teachers, and representing the use of this instrumentality as desirable in a considerable number of cases. Others controverted the latter of these positions, maintaining that, the lower was the scale of home education and discipline in the case of a particular child, the more was his need of seeing justice, kindness and humane consideration applied to him as a pupil of a public school. This seemed the general impression, but the large and intelligent audience were evidently so desirous to hear more in regard to it, that the same subject was assigned for the next meeting.

A reformatory school for boys at Newton, ten miles from this city, has done so good a work in reclaiming boys who were tending towards vagrancy and crime, that a school for young girls of the same class has been established in the same town. A recent meeting at the Fraternity rooms, proposing to apply care and culture to the needy at a yet earlier stage, discussed what measures should be taken for the welfare of orphaned and deserted infants. Remarks were made by Dr. Storer, Mr. Sanborn, Miss Goddard, Mrs. Cheney and Dr. Lucy Sewall, and a committee was appointed to consider the subject and report at a future meeting.

An admirable measure of practical beneficence has just been commenced here by a wealthy lady, Miss Wales. She has hired a large and fine house in Ash street, and provided a competent housekeeper, with intent to furnish good board and lodging to poor working girls, upon whom the expense of living have borne so heavily for a few years past, and who are often crowed together in localities unwholesome as well as uncomfortable. By this arrangement rent, food and fuel are obtained at wholesale prices, and each inmate, paying her proportion of the cost of the whole, gets really good accommodation at a cheaper rate than she formerly paid, and in a healthy and attractive locality. Vast numbers of working girls and women might make these arrangements for themselves if they chose to associate and co-operate for the purpose.

Some English newspaper lately, speaking of the recent election of two colored men, to the Massachusetts Legislature, took it for granted that they must be substantially white, with but an imperceptible mixture of negro blood, and made reflections on those who chose them as fearing to meet squarely the doctrine of equality. The assumption and the inference are alike erroneous. One of the gentlemen in question is a mulatto, the other a full-blooded negro, or undistinguishable in appearance from that class. But the small remaining portion of our skin-aristocracy detest one just as much as the other, and would hold themselves aloof from an octoroon as much as from the blackest emigrant from Congo. Our colored friends have this advantage over us—namely, that one portion of white society that is not worth knowing, chooses voluntarily to keep out of their way.

The officers of our Senate and House of Representatives, like a very great majority of their members, are of the other persuasion. Mr. Mitchell, the printer, a man really skilled in his profession, is put on the Committee on Public Printing, and Mr. Walker, the lawyer, is on the Joint Committee on Federal Relations; and both, I feel assured, will do good service in their respective departments.

I ought not to close this sketch of our reformatory movements without mentioning that Hon. Gideon Haynes, the Warden of the State Prison, has inaugurated a course of lectures in that institution, for the benefit of the prisoners, that cannot fail of having a beneficial effect. The first of the course was delivered in the chapel of the prison by Mr. Haynes himself. His subject was, "American Mechanics and American Inventions," and his discourse was fully appreciated by the great majority of the prisoners. Several of our prominent lecturers have volunteered to aid in this new feature of prison discipline.

The most venomous opposer of reform, political, social, moral, theological and religious, among our daily newspapers, died with the old year, feeling convinced by experience, it declared, that there is no adequate support here for a paper upholding "our country, our whole country, and nothing but our country." Of its brethren of the press, only one had a word of promise for it, as it sank into a dishonorable grave. It was appropriate and natural enough that the *Post* should speak well of the *Evening Commercial*, since good nature and political sympathy alike prompted the tribute, and there was no principle or habit of truthfulness to prevent it.

NORTH.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, January 14, 1867.

I REJOICE to be able to tell you that, owing to the determined courage and perseverance of one man, Mr. Ashley, of Ohio, the House of Representatives was on Monday last brought to a direct and square vote upon the proposition to investigate the conduct of Andrew Johnson with a view to his impeachment and removal from office. There can be no question but that the line of policy developed by the opponents of this measure at the caucus of Saturday night would have been successfully carried out in the House on Monday and the investigation strangled by parliamentary tatics, had not Mr. Ashley admirably defeated the scheme by bringing in his resolution under cover of a "question of privilege," by personally assuming the responsibility of impeaching the President. It was with utter dismay that the whole brood of temporizers and "artful dodgers" beheld this *coup d'état* of Mr. Ashley sprung upon them in a moment. In spite of their cunning, here was the dreadful bugbear before their very faces, and inexorable demanding of them—yea or nay? They were ready to have it to "take any shape but that," but the dread spirit had been summoned before them and would not down at their bidding. So, after much parliamentary fencing, and not a few deep maledictions upon the devoted head of Mr. Ashley, a direst vote was reached, and the resolution was adopted by considerably more than a two-thirds majority!

The scene in the House during these eventful proceedings was one never to be forgotten by those who witnessed [illegible] their breath while Mr. Ashley with solemn imperiousness arraigned the official head of the nation as guilty of crimes and misdemeanors which ought to vacate the office he held. The silence was fairly oppressive. And when he had done, and his resolution had been read by the clerk, a subdued murmur of approval and applause ran like an electric shock from end to end of the closely-packed galleries, and joined in to a considerable extent by members on the floor. But when Mr. Ashley demanded the previous question, instant commotion was produced among the little knot of the most active dissentients, chief among whom were Spalding, Bingham and Schenck. They were as lively as parched peas, importuning members to refuse to record the previous question. But a strong majority backed up Mr. Ashley's demand, and when the main question was reached the skulkers had to face the music. Your readers know the result. The record of the votes on these two questions—on recording the previous question and on the main question—is very instructive reading. I believe there is a good prospect of something being accomplished by the Judiciary Committee towards the desired consummation of impeachment. The Committee, it is understood, have appointed a sub-committee of three to prosecute the investigation and take testimony, consisting of Messrs. Boutwell of Massachusetts, Wilcox of Iowa and Williams of Pennsylvania—gentlemen whose antecedents and well known views render it tolerable certain that the work will be faithfully and conscientiously performed. And it is hoped and believed that the first work of the Fortieth Congress will be to propose articles of impeachment and proceed to the prompt trial of the same before the Senate.

The advocates of impeachment have been much strengthened in influence and numbers by the proceedings at the 8th of January banquet. The almost exclusively rebel and intense copperhead character of the getter-up of the banquet, as well as their guests and the revolutionary and incendiary utterances which found expression, endorsed by the Presidential presence and smiling approval, and crowned by his "Jacksonian sentiment,"—have enforced conviction even in many unwilling minds, that a most nefarious and dangerous conspiracy is being hatched at the White House which cannot be too soon and too effectively provided against. And one of the most significant indications of this fact is found in the advocacy of impeachment by the Washington *Chronicle* which has hitherto cautiously avoided the subject. Col. Forney's relations with the Senate are such that we may well attach considerable significance to what he says on the subject.

I think no further anxiety need be apprehended in relation to the fate of the Constitutional Amendments in the South. Johnson's late veto message and the 8th of January speeches and sentiments, combined with the Supreme Court decisions relative to military commissions and the test oath, have done *their* business most effectually, for which let us be devoutly thankful. We have not half so much to fear from an openly corrupt and audaciously treacherous President, even sustained by a fossilized Supreme Court, as from politicians of the compromising and *drifting* school.

It is given out in Administration circles that an active movement is now in progress to arouse the country—the Democratic and rebel part of it—to an organized effort to defeat the *attempted* deposition of the President by impeachment, should it be attempted, as they believe it will be immediately on or after the fifth of March next. That such a resort would be had by Johnson and his adherents in such a contingency, I have long had good occasion to believe.

In this connection it may not be uninteresting to note the following declaration of the Washington correspondent of the Baltimore *Gazette*, an intensely copperhead journal. I believe the writer is well informed in the matter of which he speaks—which is the impeachment of the President. The italics are not mine:

"It is as certain as any future event can be, that *unless decisive measures shall be taken to arouse the entire country to its eminent danger*, the 'Ides of March' will witness the total subversion of the substance and the very forms of this government.

"It is in full view of the transcendent importance of this great emergency that many consultations have been recently had in this city by distinguished gentlemen from all parts of the country, and the universal sentiment is entertained that, if constitutional liberty is to be preserved in this land, no time is to be lost in assembling true representatives of the two millions of voters who recorded their suffrages on the side of the Constitution at the late elections, in solemn council,

there to make known that the infamous purpose to deprive the people of their liberties, will not be *unresistingly submitted to.*"

I have one more precious excerpt from the pen of the President of the 8th of January banquet, at whose right hand sat the President of the United States on that occasion—the Hon. Tom Florence, of the *Constitutional Union.* The italics and capitals, also, are not mine:

"There are three millions of determined and resolute men who are ready to furnish *the most convincing argument* against *impeachment*, and WHO WILL DO SO WHEN NECESSARY. President Johnson's accusers cannot confront us with *numerically equal* arguments.

"The course of Radicalism is plain. It means to change the form of government, converting it into an aristocracy, with some Yankee as dictator. And to accomplish this treason the most effectively, they wish to proceed to the impeachment of the President. This question has split their party. They cannot back out *now*—they must go on. But instead of 'going on' to the arrest and decapitation of the President, they had better prepare their own necks for—a just retribution."

Many good people may call all this "bosh," and I trust that time may prove it to be so. But I believe these threats are *bona fide* indications of what these desperate conspirators actually mean to attempt.

OBSERVER.

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, January, 13, 1867.

THE political realm has been somewhat agitated here lately concerning a United States Senator to succeed the faithless Cowan. Happy are we in the thought that this wretched doughface, this compliant satellite of treason at the White House, is so soon to vacate the seat he has so long dishonored. That blot and stigma upon the reputation of our State will soon cease to harrass our vision. It goes into the memory as a conspicuous example of political apostasy, and an instance of recklessness in the deliberate selection of a man to occupy an important post. A lesson though it has been to the Republican party of our State, it is one that we may fear they will be very slow to profit by. It will require many such a lesson to awaken the soul of our Legislature into a consciousness of the importance of choosing the best man for an exalted position, and to lead them to sacrifice their own notoriously selfish and mercenary spirit to the will of the people and the national welfare.

I do not think any one of our citizens has seriously believed that the Legislature would elect Thaddeus Stevens to be our Senator. To know the motives that usually animate that body, to know its spirit, its material, its standard of virtue, its appreciation of genuine freedom, is to be assured without further evidence that it is utterly incapable of such a worthy act as that. It is too much good to expect from such a source. Surrounded as it always is by such morally debilitating influences, prone as it ever has been to yield thereto with unresisting will, never manifesting a right royal patronage of the highest virtue and noblest practical good, more frequently inviting our charges of corruption than winning our gratitude for manly action, we scarcely could expect it to do so good a deed as to take that brave old champion of liberty by the hand and place him in the vacant seat of the perfidious Cowan. The vote in the Republican caucus shows too plainly what degree of principle, what zest for the broadest freedom, what temper towards the great issues of the hour animated the souls of this body of men. Only *seven* voices for Stevens, and Cameron the choice! Cameron of course will be elected. Perhaps he was assured of this last Autumn when he began that early to scheme for to-day. His men were elected then, enough of them at least to control this matter in his behalf.

The Philadelphia *Press* has been very strenuous in effort and fertile in appeal towards promoting the election of Mr. Stevens. All the "showing up" of Mr. Cameron by his foes, and all the arguments, exertions and combined endeavors brought to operate against him were of very trivial avail. It is astonishing what power this hoary politician exerts. He is seldom, if ever, balked in his purpose, especially if he is the central figure of interested concern therein. This unfailing influence is popularly attributed to the potency of large pecuniary means, and when this subject is broached it is a [illegible] ready to contradict the charge, or argue down the universal belief. Perhaps the thought concerning Cameron's use of the monetary argument to subserve his ends is somewhat exaggerated. He has a host of friends and has the faculty of retaining them. They know what he is worth to them. The service they render him never passes into oblivion, and very tenacious is their memory of this fact. His interests and theirs have a mutual relationship, and they seem to act as though they never could afford to forfeit such a serviceable friendship. Such is their estimation of a man with a long purse indulgent towards convenient requisition, and such the attitude of their devotion to great principles. When the *Press* and other journals told them to beware of their constituents should they dare to vote for Cameron, they must have known what folly they were guilty of. These men could treat such threats with scorn. When their constituents punish them, Simon will reward. Such is an enteresting phase of Pennsylvania politics.

We had lectures last week by Anna E. Dickinson, Henry Ward Beecher and Judge Pitkin. Miss Dickinson's subject was, "Something to Do." As usual, a fine audience greeted her at the Academy of Music, and enjoyed the rich gifts of eloquence, ripe thought and generous, fervent feeling. She spoke with unabated power, vigor and felicity. She spoke as the mouth-piece of many women, gathering all their voices into her voice; appealing in their behalf for the relief of their wants, their sufferings, their pains; and demanding for them more money, more culture, better opportunity, greater freedom, ampler justice at the hands of the world. She aimed to inspire woman with a comprehension of her own sacred selfhood, her true personality, and to convince man that he has no more right to control her than she to govern him. Her subject was well and fully unfolded through the auxiliary service of argument, fact, logic, pathos and appeal.

Mr. Beecher lectured on "Universal Suffrage." He seems to have spoken with great acceptability to his large audience, for words of enthusiastic praise were freely bestowed by those who heard him. What seems especially to have attracted popular attention, was his zealous advocacy of woman's right to the ballot. This right was forcibly defined by the speaker, in connection with woman's peculiar fitness to determine with man all the important questions of the time. Not only the positive right but the necessity of the ballot in this direction was earnestly discussed, showing the purifying influence it would exert upon politics, its obvious addition to the means of advancing civilization, and its capability of giving a new power and a firmer standing to public morals. In this great field of practical action to rectify great injustice, there is need of powerful aid; and stout hearts, superior minds, tongues of eloquent force, have an inestimable value as participants in the mighty work. The primary purpose to be accomplished is to convince woman herself that voting is a right she ought to exercise.

Judge Pitkins's lecture was the third in the popular course given by the Association of Colored People. His subject was, "The Modern Puritan." Besides the much instructive historical fact, happily blended in attractive parallel, the lecture embraced a sparkling discussion of the prominent topics of the hour. It glowed all over with intense Radicalism. Zeal, eloquence, power and boldness were there, and a piquant, animated diction won the ear. No half-way measures were advocated in the work of reconstruction, but such as would be effectual in their operation, vital with essential remedies, and sure to guarantee weakness where there is strength, and strength where there is weakness. Judge Pitkin wants safety insured to him in his home at New Orleans, and security in the enjoyment of all their rights for all loyal men in the South, with no notice taken of complexion. With what scorn, what terrible denunciation he reviewed the course of Foster and his Congressional associates, who went down to New Orleans to "cross their legs under rebel tables" and "belch with a plethora of rebel dinners," receiving into convivial favor the fiendish Munroe and traitor Beauregard, and turning, cruelly turning, a cold shoulder on the brave defenders of the right in that locality! Is it a marvel that a loyal man who has suffered from rebel domination and brutality in New Orleans, should mar ifest a deeper indignation concerning this wanton affair than is possible to others?

The eloquent gentleman was listened to with profound attention throughout his lengthy address, and none who listened could have failed to be more firmly, more forcibly impressed than before with the imperative claims of duty to the cause of universal justice.

W.

THE THIRTY-THIRD NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

THE Managers of the National Anti-Slavery Subscription Anniversary beg leave to notify their friends,—the friends of the negro and of universal liberty,—that the thirty-third Anniversary will be held in Music Hall, Boston, on Thursday, January 24, 1866. The aim of this effort is to give the American Anti-Slavery Society the means to continue its operations, and especially to sustain the publication of the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

Notwithstanding the Constitutional Amendment, abolishing slavery throughout the Union, has been ratified, still the rights of the negro race are in fearful peril. Whether that anti-slavery provision shall be practically a dead letter, or really work its intended effect, is to be decided this Winter. Whether slavery shall continue to exist in everything but the name, is to be decided this Winter. Overborne by a powerful, educated, and wealthy race,—one inflamed by old prejudice and recent defeat, and armed with exclusive political privileges,—the negro, even if technically free, is still a slave, while destitute of civil and political rights. Even now, the rebel States propose a labor code, where differences between master and servant are to be settled, not, as in all free countries, by courts and judges, but by *the lash*, in the hands of *irresponsible masters.* This stamps the system as a substantial slavery. The plan of reconstruction, urged by the Administration, leaves the black still a slave. The Constitutional Amendments proposed by Congress are a deliberate desertion of the Negro and surrender him defenceless into the hands of his old masters. These Amendments break the National pledge to our black allies, and if accepted by the States would jeopard the safety of the Union and make Emancipation for many years to come a form. It is still, unfortunately, true that, with a few illustrious exceptions, the leaders of the Republican party and its most influential journals avow their willingness to admit the rebels back without securing land, ballot, and education to the negro. No matter what rights are seemingly secured to him, if these, the defence and guaranty of all, are denied. With land and ballot in the negro's hands, and means of education in his reach, no matter what or how liberal terms are conceded to the rebels. Without these elements of self-defence, all pretence of protection or security for the black is an absurd sham.

The Managers feel it to be still their duty to watch for the real emancipation of this victim race. While so many lips are sealed by party temptations, and so many journals silent or neutral, from one cause or another, it becomes the Abolitionists,—it is a solemn duty imposed upon them by all the pledges of their past lives, to rally public opinion, and secure the constant proclamation as widely as possible, of the whole truth, without fear, compromise, or favor. They therefore earnestly appeal to their friends, to all the old and tried members of the American Anti-Slavery Society, as well as to those whose eyes the war has opened, for the means to perform, as efficiently as possible, this momentous duty.

Those not able to be personally present to aid on this occasion, and to listen to the appeals of the zealous and tried laborers in this cause, may send their contributions to R. P. HALLOWELL, Esq., No. 98 Federal street, Boston, Mass.

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LITERARY.

STUDIES. By JOHN A. DORGAN. Philadelphia: C. H. Marot. Third edition. 1866.

MR. DORGAN'S poetry has the unusual merit of being no more than poetry. To freedom, justice, mercy, the great reforms of the age, it has no other relation than that which beauty necessarily bears to truth. Poetry, like the spirits of the waterfall or the wood, is not responsible to higher powers, nor condemned to the eternal strife of evil with good. The fairy was immortal, but heaven and hell were equally denied it. It knew neither virtue nor sin, yet was intimate with all secrets and had sympathy with all passions. The purest poetry dwells in this mystic world. It is true that there is no truth so humble or so proud that poetry may not serve it; yet, if it is to remain poetry, it is upon the absolute condition that it chooses that service, not for the sake of truth in itself, but for the beauty which is in it. Otherwise there may be a noble argument, arrayed in robes of beauty; but the loveliness which is its own sufficient reason for being, will be gone. Chain Ariel to the star, and how swiftly, how brightly will the meteor burn; but the spirit will be the slave of the star. Instances of the sacrifice of ideality to some practical purpose are innumerable. When Milton confines himself to his theme, and seeks to justify the ways of Providence to men, he loses precisely as much as a poet as he gains as a theologian—the pure poet is found in the intervals of argument. Wordsworth's mistake in writing sonnets in defence of capital punishment, was not greater, so far as his sphere as a poet is concerned, than Lowell's in writing sonnets in reply.

We do not mean that poetry is independent of truth. The noblest imagination and the deepest tact are one. But who can hold in his heart of hearts the poet whose mission is merely to champion a reform, or sing the praises of any virtue? We love the masterless spirit—he who is born to look upon the rising sun, the stars in their glory, not because they give light to the world, but only that they are beautiful.

The whole tendency of Mr. Dorgan's poetry is towards that upper ether where dwells the immutable loveliness. The character of his verse forbids the supposition that he has formally acted upon any theory, but these truths he has instinctively obeyed.

A profound melancholy underruns Mr. Dorgan's poetry, and may lessen its popularity; but there are few morbid stanzas. The sadness is healthy because it is true, and less personal than philosophic and imaginative. None but those who profess a morbid and unnatural cheerfulness, who know so little of life that they have banished the thought of death, can object to melancholy which is inseparable from the highest beauty. The past is but another word for lost, and there are few poems in this book which do not breathe a subdued yet passionate regret. As an instance, the sonnet entitled "Oblivion:"

Weep not, oh, Beauty! that thy spells shall cease;
Nor moan, oh, Love! that thy desire shall die;
Cease not, oh, Hope! to breathe sweet melodies,
Though evermore they fade away on high,
And perish utterly, leaving us sad
As if a star had vanished from the sky;
The poet's brain to vex till he goes mad
Forget not, Fame! though thou art vanity;
Oh, Joy! no more that thou art mortal sigh;
Because Oblivion is all in all,
And Hate and Ugliness, as with a pall,
He covers; Shame of immortality
Bereaves, and by his hand with friendly care
Led, by the side of Lethe kneels Despair.

Or this song, with the strange charm of its music:

Let us forget the promise of to-morrow,
Which, oh, too well! we know in gloom may set;
Let us forget the hope that brings but sorrow;
Let us forget—forget—forget.
Let us forget the fetters that we bear;
Let us forget the canker and the fret;
Oh! let who will remember—remember,
Let us forget—let us forget!

Let us forget the friends who have deceived us;
Let us forget the loves that wake regret;
And all that baffled us and all that grieved us,
Let us forget—forget—forget.
Let us forget to-day and yesterday;
Let us forget the canker and the fret;
Oh! let who will remember—remember,
Let us forget—let us forget!

But these regrets, whether wild or gentle, are reconciled in a supreme trust. The "Rest of Boodh," one of the noblest of the poems, rises above the unavailing desire for the past to this holy transfiguration of the future. Where has the Hindoo fable had a nobler expression?

THE REST OF BOODH.

Of all the visions of the Eastern sages,
The garnered treasures of forgotten ages,
The child-like wisdom of what hoariest old,
Of all the faiths which men hold or have held,
That pleases me, in which the supreme good
Of the desired hereafter lies in this,
From earthly suffering and earthly bliss
To be withdrawn into the rest of Boodh.

Ye who have known the quiet which is born
In souls that have forgotten to desire,
But have desired, whom life hath made forlorn,
By fates superior to remorse or ire,
Baffled your hopes, your yearnings laughed to scorn,
Chained to the rock, or withering in the fire,
Hell's barren empire yours, but yours the clue
For which Jove trembled, which supreme Prometheus knew.

Rejoice! for ye have had, even in this life,
Some glimpses of the bliss of that to be—
The god-like peace that only follows strife,
The calm of victory.
Rejoice, ye kingly spirits unsubdued,
For your sweet foretaste of the rest of Boodh.

The rest of Boodh! Lo, Time the eternal bears
A harp of silence; as its music wakes
The graves grow green in which we laid with tears
Our dearest, and our faces grief forsakes;
Listen, the poet's song dies unawares;
Behold, the conqueror's arch asunder breaks:
And to the strains of that Lethean lyre,
Our rapture like our anguish shall expire.

That whirl of thrilling passion, joy and pain,
I would not wish again;
Yet would not lose the dreary wisdom won
In the life which is done,
The calm of high heroic hearts outworn
With victory forlorn;
I would not yield to death the poet mood
Which peoples every solitude,
The power born of wrong
Which lightens in my song;
Unchanged and changeless, yet no more the same,
Apart from all, and yet of all a part,
In the deep peace of the eternal heart,
Let me abide with those who overcame,
From earth and all *its phantoms many-hued*
Absorbed into the colorless rest of Boodh.

The stainless, painless, passionless rest of Boodh!
There is no evil and there is no good,
Nor life, nor death, nor time, nor space, nor aught
But conscious will and all-compelling thought,
And the deep sense of the immutable,
In which the immortal dwell,
By whom are all things known or understood,
Far sunken in the solemn rest of Boodh.

The rest of Boodh! the starry rest of Boodh!
The love of old, and the ancestral feud,
Shall move no more, forgotten and forgiven
In the repose of heaven.
The stars shall fall; the sun be turned to blood;
The earth be shrouded in a fiery flood;
The heavens be rolled together as a scroll;
The form and face of nature be renewed;
Still shall abide the all-pervading soul,
And still the calm of those who rest in Boodh.

As an example of perfect diction, and insight of an obscure legend we quote:

KAVADISKA.

They lay in heaps upon the barren plain,
With shivered weapons clutched in strenuous hands,
And death in pallid visages of pain,
The chosen of many lands.

The water of Life I sprinkled them upon;
They rose up shuddering, and answered me:
"By Kavadiska was our strength undone;
Oh, follow her not, but flee!"

"Oh, feeble fools!" I answered angrily;
"Oh, cowards, whom a woman vanquisheth!
Be life for us; but this for such as ye:"
I poured the water of Death.

So came I to her castle stately and old,
And entered in the tapestried banquet hall,
And lo! her sword leapt in its scabbard of gold
Upon the storied wall.

I understood the omen, and straight, with speed
Running, took down the charmed falchion dread
Out of its gemmy scabbard, as decreed,
Leaving my own instead.

Then entered Kavadiska full of wrath,
And snatching that changed weapon suddenly,
Cried, as she leapt to bar my onward path,
"Draw: thou must fight with me!"

We fought. The sword was broken in her hand;
She dashed the golden hilt upon the floor.
"My love," she cried, "whom I cannot withstand—
My love forevermore!"

Poems such as these are proof of a superb and original intellect. The structure of Mr. Dorgan's verse is his own, and his rythm is perfectly harmonious with his thought. The strange music which haunts the book echoes no other strain. His expression is exact. However vague or passionate the feeling, the words are never vague or confused, and, to speak with moderation, there is no young poet of the day who surpasses him in command of language. There is modesty in his diction—the self-suppression of power. He does not use words, as inexperienced painters use colors, to throw a false glow over an imperfect sketch. His poetry, analyzed, is found true at the root, and, indeed, it is only within the limits of exact thought that ideality finds infinite space. When we consider that most of these poems were written before the author was twenty-five years of age, the praise we give will be more than justified.

It is not often that poetry so pure in morality is so independent in creed. It serves no purpose; it is not a reformer nor a conservative. Facts and faiths are but the air into which it takes its eagle flights, the rocks whereon it rests. It is the worshipper of the beautiful, and lives to be absorbed into its deity; yet freedom, charity, the scorn of evil and the love of good, are its elements, for these are part of the beautiful. We may see, in the poems referring to John Brown and Daniel Webster, how reverently this imperious muse bows before unrecognized heroism on the scaffold, or turns with contempt from meanness upon the throne.

The book is handsomely published, and very creditable to Mr. Marot, who has, we believe, but newly joined the publishers of general literature.

The above was written before the death of Mr. Dorgan. Of him it only remains to be said that, with a life as pure as his poetical spirit, no writer needed less the veil of praiseful thought to which early death gives rise.

Mary L. Booth is busily engaged in translating Eugene Sue's last and greatest work, "The Mysteries of the People." The publishing of the work was suppressed in the author's life-time. Since his death, the entire work has been issued by Victor Hugo's publishers at Brussels. The work is divided into eight series, the first of which is now published by C. M. Clark, 443 Broome street, New York. The work is a history of the struggles, sufferings and revolutions of the people of France during two thousand years, related in the form of tales, in Sue's graphic and thrilling composition. Miss Booth's translation is painstaking, accurate, and reveals the author's philosophic meaning. The work is written to advance the cause of human equality, liberty and fraternity. On former occasions Miss Booth has generously used her pen to strengthen the labors of Abolitionists. We hope this new undertaking by her will be encouraged.

RECEIVED.

ETHICS for our Country and the Times, 214 pages, by Aydelott, D.D.: Cincinnati, R. W. Carroll & Co.

The *North British Review*, American edition, December 1866: New York, Leonard Scott Publishing Company, 38 Walker street.

Littell's Living Age, No 42, for January 19th: Boston, Littell, Son & Co., No 30 Bromfield street.

Northern Lights, No. 2, Edited by Mrs. Howe: Boston, Lee and Shepard; New York, American News Co.

Every Saturday, No. 55, for January 19th: Boston, Ticknor and Fields, publishers.

CONTEMPTIBLE ACTION OF ARTEMUS WARD.—Artemus Ward's droll letters in *Punch* continue to be greatly enjoyed in this country. I am sorry to say that "A. W." did a thing in London lately which was the reverse of magnanimous. He went to the Olympic to hear the young American tragedian, Mr. Morgan Smith, in Othello, and, occupying a conspicuous seat in the stalls, he made himself conspicuous by audible expressions of contempt for the actor. Not contented with that, he waited in the principal lobby till the audience came out, and then in a loud tone went through a tirade of ridicule at Mr. Morgan Smith. The latter gentleman, though an African, *is* a gentleman, and I know this much, that had their relative positions been changed, had Artemus Ward still his position to make, and had Morgan Smith already won his position, Morgan Smith is of too generous a nature to have done one act, however slight, to have hindered Artemus Ward in his struggles for success. The colored actor will succeed, in spite of Artemus Ward's gratuitous hostility; but it does not make that hostility any the less uncivil or ungenerous.

I mention the foregoing chiefly on the authority of my own eyes and ears. I thought the showman, who is, no doubt, a really fine fellow, might have given a struggling aspirant for success at least a chance.—*London Correspondence of the Cincinnati Commercial.*

SWIETENIA.—This article which our readers have seen lately so extensively advertised is we can say, after having tried it, one of the best dentrifices that has ever been offered to the public, and to those who regard their teeth of sufficient value and ornament to preserve we would recommend the use of it. In addition to possessing all the desirable qualities for an efficacious dentrifice, it is pleasant in the highest degree, giving to the mouth a delightful taste and to the breath a fragrant odor. It can be obtained from any druggist.

American Anti-Slavery Society.

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LEARNING TO WALK.

ONLY beginning the journey,
Many a mile to go;
Little feet, how they patter,
Wandering to and fro.

Trying again, so bravely,
Laughing in baby glee;
Hiding its face in mother's lap,
Proud as a baby can be!

Talking the oldest language
Ever before was heard;
But mother (you'd hardly think so)
Understands every word.

Tottering now and falling,
Eyes that are going to cry;
Kisses and plenty of love-words,
Willing again to try.

Father of all, O, guide them,
The pattering little feet,
While they are treading the up-hill road,
Braving the dust and heat!

Aid them when they grow weary,
Keep them in pathways blest,
And when the journey's ended,
Saviour, O, give them rest.

THE CRETAN REVOLUTION.

WENDELL PHILLIPS'S SPEECH FOR AMERICAN RELIEF TO THE CRETANS.

A MEETING was held on Monday evening, Jan. 7, in Boston, to enlist the sympathies of Americans in behalf of the Cretans against the Turks, and to raise funds for supplying material aid to the struggling patriots of the Mediterranean island Dr. S. G. Howe presided. Addresses were made by him, by the Rev. Dr. Huntington, and by Wendell Phillips, who spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: The gentlemen who have addressed you, have intimated plainly enough the general grounds upon which we are asked to come together and take into consideration the question of Cretan relief. Who are the Cretes, and what is the question of the relief of Crete? Five thousand miles off, an island, not as large as our own little Massachusetts, has risen in arms to claim its rights. Not primarily political rights; not, first, independence, legislation, ballots; but the right to earn bread in peace; the right to worship God in safety; the right of woman to her purity; the right of the child to school and to home; the bare human rights pertaining to all human nature, everywhere, under all circumstances—God-given—which no power has a right, under any circumstances, to invade. (Applause.) This is what Crete rises to claim. What method does she take to claim it? I should say, in the first place, no need for us to ask. How long shall a man submit to such oppression? My answer is, just so long, and up to that point where he has an honorable chance to escape from it. (Applause.) The moment nature and God put within his reach the power of deliverance, it is not only his right, but it is his duty, to himself, to his children, to the world, to tear the chain off of his limbs. It is for him to choose whether this shall be by argument, by appeal to the good sense and the good heart of his oppressor, or by arms. We have no right to dictate. The choice lies with the victim, knowing how much he has suffered, how much he can do, and the chances that are before him; and when man rises anywhere, the world over, to claim these rights, and is willing to accord to others what he claims for himself, by all the considerations that make human brotherhood—one God, one blood, and one future—he may claim of his fellow-man sympathy and aid. (Applause.) No form of government, no parchment, however sacred, has any claim to stand between man and man in such emergency. This is a mere abstract statement of the relations, as I conceive, between a man and his fellow, the world over. But what is Crete? What is this island that sends its claim for sympathy half round the globe? It is an island peopled distinctively by one race. That race has a common nationality. No part of it has ever allowed oppression to sunder that nationality. All Greece—Greece proper and all her islands—for 500 years, has never *left one generation without a protest of arms* or of argument against the denial of its rights by the force of surrounding nations. Like its own legend of the giant under the sister island, Sicily, of the Mediterranean, there has never been a moment when Crete or the Morea has suffered in silence. Their protest, like his resistance, has unceasingly rocked the continent or lashed the Archipelago into storms. They may claim that at no time within the history of man has the consent of the Greek race ever been given to the force extended over them. It is such a community that comes to us protesting against the sword without one element that in our philosophy goes to make up a government. Their nationality unbroken, they have submitted only to absolute necessity of silence when worn out by struggle and bloodshed. Against what have they been struggling? They have been struggling against a faith, the fundamental principle of which is that everything which dissents from it, has no right to live. Crete stands to-day under the heel of a despotism which is but another name for a faith which claims the right to exterminate everything that does not believe its own creed. It is not a pure despotism like that which existed in feudal Europe, and in ancient times, but it is something which calls itself a State, founded on the principle that one portion of the human race has no right to live. Am I sinning against American ethics, against Christian ethics, when I say that a power which denies the right of the antagonistic Cretes even to life, has no right in the eye of God and Justice to assert its authority of government over races and realms that have for 2,000 years denied its creed? If that is not justice, then one part of the human race, under the mask of government, has a right to exterminate the other. And yet this is the form of government against which Crete has maintained her perpetual protest; and though seeming peace, under the guise of vast taxes and cruel assaults on life, honor, comfort, prosperity, permits to the Christian population the toleration of an existence, the moment the slightest arm lifted against the government justifies the Turk in falling back upon the Koran, his war of extermination is not exceptional, it is the cardinal constitution of his realm. Remember, then, we friends of Greece are not asking for the sympathy of the Christian and civilized world for one section of a nation contending for political rights against another, but we are asking for a race, unalterably Christian, never divided, never fairly conquered, the liberty to rise, until there is no hope in rising, against a despotism concealed behind a creed which not only tolerates but orders the extermination of man, woman and child. For one, I am ready to say, in the face of all civilization, that I see no right in any Christian nation to acknowledge such alliance and friendship for a power resting on such a claim, as will prevent any of its citizens from stretching forth their hands with any amount or quality of aid to the victims who rise up against such oppression. (Applause.) I can see a reason in international law why, if France should rise against her government, or Germany against hers, bad as we think them, there might be a limit beyond which the expediency and rules of law of Christendom itself would not permit us to step. But the Turk is only encamped in Europe. He has never yet, viewed in the light of the principles of justice and law, advanced the first claim to recognition as an equal in the sisterhood of nations. That power which undertakes to starve women and children, to deny to the victim race the right to appeal to its own tribunals, which says to the Christian, "Your faith shuts you out from testifying to injury before the law," which, at the first indication of resistance exterminates a population, I contend has no rightful existence as a government. (Applause.) Write the word Scio on the Turkish record, and all Christianity and all law deny the right of such a power to be recognized as a government in the ordinary European sense of the term. (Applause.) Recollect, in the second year of the old conflict, which commenced in 1821, the prosperous, fruitful, happy island of Scio, with some 150,000 inhabitants, herself quiet and neutral, was visited by some two or three thousand patriots, and some resistance was made to Turkish law; upon which the government let loose upon the island an army of some 15,000 or 20,000 men, and in one or two months but 900 living human beings of that population of 150,000 were left upon the land. Only 40,000 women and children, sold into slavery, survived of the whole population; the rest were butchered on their own hearths. Is that what civilization interprets as war? Are there any rights of belligerency to be acknowledged to such a power? In the Social Scientific Congress at Ghent, in 1863, M. Clamageren, a distinguished French writer on political questions—speaking of the rule of acknowledging belligerents—said: "What shall be the criterion? Hitherto, it has been the fact which has given birth to the right. If the insurrection lasts, the insurgents become belligerent; that is, by the fact. It is time to substitute for this, justice and right; these are the principles. First, if there be oppression, it must be manifested by the protests of the oppressed, who must have exhausted pacific means. Deny this rule, and you consecrate injustice and anarchy." I contend that that is the American doctrine, and the time will come when the law of Christendom will acknowledge it. In the light of this claim, look briefly at the history of Crete. You recollect, when the Greeks rose in 1821, they sustained a nine years' conflict against the Turkish Empire, assisted, as Dr. Howe has related to us, by the strength of Egypt. In 1827 occurred that battle of Navarino to which he has made reference. Shortly after, the allied powers made the Porte recognize the independence of Greece as a nation; but at the same time, by their own will, they undertook to say to Crete, a portion of the Greek nation since history began, lying right upon the coast of Morea, necessary to that kingdom for defence—recognized as such by Palmerston himself—an island that had maintained the most desperate conflict for nine years, writing the record in the blood of their women and children as well as their soldiers—the allies compelled Crete to submit again to Moslem control, as an appendage to Egypt, and it was afterward restored to the Porte. Crete is no party to such oppression. In 1833, in 1842, in 1858, she made an armed resistance. In 1865 she began a constitutional resistance. Having suffered everything humanity could suffer in her previous risings, the inhabitants assembled in legitimate counsel, and sent to the Porte their respectful protest against the constant oppression of Mohammedan law. This was right, the only justifiable course. No man is authorized in appealing to arms until he has exhausted all peaceful means. Nothing but argument will change opinion; everywhere, even in despotisms, opinion bears sway in the last resort. Victor Hugo says, "the flash of the sabre is a moment's gleam—right is an eternal ray." True; but sometimes the heavens are so dark, the only light we get is the sword's gleam. Barbarism bows to nothing else, knows no other logic. The John Bright for Turkey is the sword. Instead of answering to this protest in the way known to constitutional governments, the Porte began to let loose upon the Island his native and Egyptian troops, as in the previous contest, and as Dr. Howe has told us, desolated the island from end to end, shut up the combatants in caves, and murdered everything taken prisoner—men, women and children; no distinction of combatant and non-combatant, of age, or sex, or profession—everything put to the sword. This is the history of the contest up to the present moment. Let me read to you what I consider a remarkable document—the Decree of the General Assembly of Cretans, Sept. 2, 1866, after the Turks commenced this system of extermination.

"Faithful to the oath taken in 1821, and to the will of the whole people, who desire the union and independence of the entire Hellenic race, it is decreed:

"I. The sovereignty of Turkey is forever abolished in the whole territory of Crete and the places appurtenant to it.

"II. The indissoluble and eternal union of Crete and of all the places appurtenant to it, under the sceptre of his Majesty George I., is hereby proclaimed.

"III. The execution of the present decree is confided to the valor of the generous people of Crete, to the patriotism of our brother Hellenes, wherever residing, and to the liberality of all Philhellenes, as well as to the powerful mediation of the great nations, protecting and guaranteeing it, and to the protection of Almighty God."

This is the decree of a nation rising into existence, and it comes to us as to every other people, making appeal to the world for sympathy in its claims, not of political and disputed rights, but of the inalienable, indisputable and undeniable rights of human nature itself. (Loud applause.) Crete does not come to us asking that we will help her make a Republic against a constitutional monarchy, but that we will help men striving to protect the rights to bread, worship, home, education, the ordinary safety of life and hearth against a dominion which denies them all. Why should we do it, particularly in this case? For one, I feel especially drawn to this population because of the exceeding vitality of the blood which it represents. No matter how many races, either as conquerors or as emigrants, have taken up their abode in the Morea or on the islands, no matter what language or custom they have carried there, everything has been absorbed and converted into Grecian, under the overwhelming power and vitality of the Grecian blood. *Like the Saxon in England and the Saxon* here—no matter what race, no matter what language, no matter what custom enters our limits, the Normans of old Europe to-day are all absorbed and digested into a nation whose normal character and law are still Saxon. The Chinese exhibit the same wonderful pertinacity of life. No matter what wave of conquest rolls over them in their history of centuries, reappearing above the subsiding deluge comes ever uppermost this unchangeable form of the original Chinese blood and civilization. Now, by virtue of the right that God has given to what is lasting amid human changes, such races have a right to live. (Applause.) Everything disappears before them because God has given them the inherent forces that make them a power and would make them a blessing in the world. The world owes a recognition to Greece. Greece, since the first page of history, no matter what her changes, has never ceased to be Greece. That is one claim. Secondly, she has another claim upon us, that in every little privilege which events have accorded her, she has shown a wonderful recuperative power against all previous oppression. I recognize well that rule which, I think, covers all cases of oppressor and victim; that though it may be true as Homer said:

"Whatever day
Makes man a slave, takes half his worth away,"

it is still more true, that whatever day makes man a tyrant takes *all* his worth away. (Applause.) Oppression does more harm to the oppressor than to its victim. That is the reason why, with all his faults of necessity and circumstances, the Greek, rising from these centuries of oppression, is still infinitely higher than the Turk who has been able to domineer over him. In every scale that weighs the character of their culture and civilization, there is no pretence even of comparison. True, the Greek has his faults. Men say he is cunning. But cunning is always the only defense of the weak against the strong. The strong man, like the strong brute, defends himself by force, and the weaker man, like the weaker animal, defends himself by the keenness of his cunning. The very oppression that robs men of the power to resist, develops in the victim race this part of its intellect. But, in spite of that, the Greek has shown, in the prosperity that he has reaped, in the increase of population, in the great increase of wealth, in his accumulation of culture, in his schools and universities, that, only free him from the superincumbent weight, he will yet give us the Eastern half of the Mediterranean back to civilization. In my view, the Greek is the New Englander of the East. Men call him idle; but he has only been indolent when there was no security for the fruits of his industry. He is like ourselves in his characteristics. He wishes to do with his brains, and not to be obliged to resort to the manual drudgery of his hands. The Yankee race scouts the primeval curse (laughter); seeks to get its living without the sweat of its brow. It harnesses steam, and sends the lightning on errands. It invents. It undertakes to make a man superior to the elements by the vigor of his intellect. The Greek does the same. Give him freedom, and he runs the same race. But that New England race would have fought for the right to invent before they would have submitted to a continued existence of manual toil. (Applause.) The Greek, under his previous form of national life, has never had this freedom of development which we have enjoyed. Give to the Greek Kingdom, the Greek race, on the soil which originally belonged to them, the opportunities and the liberty of development which we have had, and they will come nearer, as I read them, to the New England race, in all the characteristics of their national life. Traders on the broadest basis, inventors subjugating nature to human intellect and not to human hands—this will be the character of their prosperity in the future. And they claim of us, as I said, sympathy on a broader basis than Italy has claimed it hitherto. After all, this great uprising in Italy has been one simply for a change of political masters, of political institutions. What oppressions she had were incidental to these. Greece cries out to us, "Civilization is fighting against barbarism, Christianity against that intolerance which does not allow it the right to live or to worship—come to my aid!" Well, they have chosen the happiest hour for their resistance, the one most hopeful for its success. In the first place, Turkey is but a farce. "The sick man," as Chesterfield said, "is already dead and buried, only he does not wish it known among his friends." (Laughter.) Europe sustains the farce of a government for some unexplained reason of her diplomacy. Europe handed back Crete to her masters on some diplomatic grounds of the balance of power. Crete for thirty-six years has suffered every oppression that can be visited on men, women and children, and that is enough for her to pay as penalty to the exigencies of European diplomacy. She rises now to ask of Europe her rights; and what can Europe reply? Europe may say, "There are some delicate questions of balance of power yet which oblige us to keep up the farce, the pretended government of Turkey." How much weight that ought to have on a nation claiming unity and rights, like the Greek, you can judge; but America, at least, has no interest in the balance of European politics. It is of no account to us, whatever it may be to Austria, to France, to Russia, to England, that the pretended emblem of government should be kept up at Constantinople. In the falling apart of that government, Crete claims her right, a God-given right. She claims it of an empire that has not the power to protect, which has only the power to annoy. I say, America is not bound, in this emergency, to pay the slightest regard to that pretence of a government which nothing but European diplomacy recognizes. Put aside the appearances of things. Turkey, with her exhausted exchequer, her bankrupt finances, her entirely decrepit right hand, has no right to be considered a government. What has it ever done for Crete? What is the right by which governments exist? Cicero says, in one of his treatises: *Quæ est enim civitas? Omnis ne conventus etiam ferorum et immanium! Omnis ne etiam fugitivorum ac latronum congregata unum in locum multitudo?* CERTE NEGABIS." "What is a State? Is every gathering of savages and barbarians such? Is every gang of fugitives and robbers a State? Certainly not." No civil society, no government, can rightfully exist except on the basis of the willing submission of its citizens and by the performance of the duty of rendering equal justice between man and man. A State must show in the protection of its subjects, in the education of its children, in the creation of great public benefits, in roads, hospitals, harbors, commerce, in trade opened and protected, in the great benefits which civil society is meant to subserve and extend, or, at least, by an attempt to carry out these great human interests, her right to obedience and respect. Point me to the first effort the Turkish government ever made since it encamped in Constantinople for any one of these things. Point me to one single road, school, hospital, public institution, or the preservation of public or private right in the island that it undertakes to govern, that it has ever pretended to help. Boston men, we are not to be the children of words, we are not to be duped by appearances; and if there is a government against which these brother Christians and sons of civilization are contending, where is it, and what has it ever done? Nothing but murder its subjects; nothing but steal the bread of its laborers; nothing but cripple the development of its population; nothing but hamper commerce; nothing but destroy every element which makes civilization. If there is anything in the history and attitude of this country, or in the elements which go to make up this government, we have a right to deny to such a government a place in the sisterhood of States. This is the ground on which I, for one, am willing to rest, and urge on this nation, as a nation, and on us, as individuals, the duty to help a struggling and undisputed nationality against a power which Europe has maintained only for her own selfish purposes. (Applause.) I know very well, Mr. Chairman, that delicacy of international law which claims that this is a dangerous principle. But, so humanity has certain great rules. The brotherhood of man means something. It is not a phrase; and if the brotherhood of man means anything, then I say that, when a State undertakes to treat its subjects as the Porte has treated the Christians for centuries, any nation has a right to help them, and no Christian people have a right to maintain such relations with the Porte as would prevent their helping them. I know the danger of this principle; but humanity must not surrender a rightful rule because some time tyrants may make some pretence to abuse it. (Applause.) If you deny that rule, you consecrate injustice and anarchy under the form of law. Now, considering the weakness of Turkey, considering that paralysis of the European states which exists at this moment—that paralysis of France, England, Russia, Austria, which gave to Germany its splendid and prompt success, which explains why Bismarck in an hour has made the long splendor of Napoleon to fade away (applause)—that paralysis in the diplomacy of Europe is the opportunity of Greece. There is not a nation on the continent that is in a condition to interfere. The Porte is nothing; and all these boasted realms around her, if they dare to put their flag behind the Crescent, risk such a European conflict as will make all Europe a new map within thirty years. France, anxious as she is to touch the Eastern question, knows it well. The sagacious Greek knows his opportunity. He has but to persevere, and he is certain. *Fortified in* his mountain recesses, he cannot be beaten. The island is divided by one single chain running from end to end. It is the Switzerland of the East. Who has been able, in 800 years, to subjugate the Swiss? It is San Domingo over again—a race contending against alien blood for their homes; and as Homer says: "to fight for one's own home is half the battle." Now, these Cretan men, in their fortresses, ask of us what? Bread for their wives and children; shelter from the extermination. In the recent convent fight at Canea, some 600 Cretans, cooped within the walls of a convent, were assailed, I think, by 10,000 troops. When the battle had at last broken in through the outer wall, it was sustained for six hours hand to hand, in the yard of the convent. When the time came finally for the decision, death or submission, knowing well that out from under that Greek flag no living soul would pass, they themselves applied the match to the magazine and went to Heaven, while 3,000 of their opponents went to their graves. (Applause.) A man is not obliged thus to die with wife and child, rather than to submit to the conditions of civilized war. The Greek saw his wife and child on each side of him. It was not war he was waging, when by surrendering his sword he might be himself a prisoner and their lives be saved. It was death. The survivors, the brothers, the sons, the fathers of those men come to us and say, "We can fight, but let us fight as civilized man fights, putting only our own lives on the hazard. Do not let us fight with the lives of wife and children hanging on the issue of the battle. Give us shelter, as Christendom has recognized warfare for 1,000 years—shelter and bread for woman and child." And with such a history as I have detailed, this is all the Cretan asks of America. Shall he have it? Will we do for this last gallant resistance of the Greek what our fathers did for the Morea? Will we, in this better opportunity—one so likely to open the whole Levant to Christianity and civilization—one so likely to make the Turk,

"Fold up his tent like the Arab and silently glide"

from Europe—will we hold up the hands of civilized warfare by rendering it impossible that the Turk should be a brute and a barbarian? The black race in San Domingo met from France the same edict of extermination; and the moment the Frenchman issued it he guaranteed his own defeat in the indomitable resolution to avenge which filled the hearts of his opponents. The moment the leaders of the French army issued their edict of "Death to man, woman and child," the island rose like one man to an effort which made subjugation an impossibility. I read so the history of Crete.

Ex-Gov. Andrew was presented at the conclusion of Mr. Phillips's address. He said another engagement had detained him until the present late hour, and, being ignorant of what had been said, and knowing he could add nothing, he thought he would discharge his duty in reading the following resolutions. They were unanimously adopted as the sense of the meeting:

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That, as the last great struggle of Christianity against Mohammedanism was fought out against the Turks by Venice in Crete—as her inhabitants were an integral part of the revolution against the Turks, which gave Greece her independence, and had nearly expelled the enemy when the Allied Powers gave the island to Turkey against the prayers and protest of all Greece—as, under the Turkish government and its system of farming out its revenues, the Cretans have been oppressed past all endurance, and have taken up arms—and, as it is the old struggle of the Christian against the Infidel, of the Bible against the Koran, of Christian marriage against polygamy, of progress against barbarism—we believe it to be the duty of Christians of all sects and creeds to save these women and children from starving, all the more because it may incidentally help their husbands and brothers struggling for Liberty and Christianity.

Resolved, That in the appeal to us of the women and children of the Island of Crete to save them from starvation, we recognize a claim upon our common humanity as irresistible as it is pathetic.

Resolved, That, as ever since her classic days, Greece has been able to put the stamp of her language and national character upon all whose blood has been mixed with hers—as her written language to-day is nearly identical with that of Plato and Æschylus—as Greece had a public school system unequaled by any in the world, and a university among the best-endowed in Europe—as the Greeks are now the principal merchants and sailors of the Mediterranean, and, as a nation, quick-witted, united, progressive—as the revolution of 1821 and the present one in Crete have given examples of self-sacrificing heroism worthy to stand with Thermopylæ—we see, in all these facts, that her faul are mainly those of necessity and circumstance, and that, once all free, she may create a new history as imperishable as her old renown.

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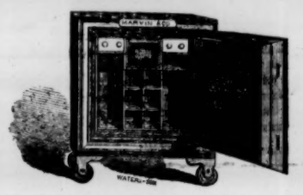

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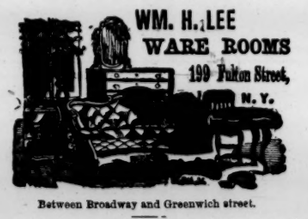

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